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SENIOR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANTS BY MID-CAREER

A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS IN CANADA

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Internal Research Project of the

Royal Commission on VOLUME III and Recommendations

Christopher Reaume
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Stephen Leveson

February 1, 1967

SENIOR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT MID-CAREER:

A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS IN CANADA

Senior Federal Civil Servants at Mid-Career

A Study of English-French Relations in Canada

(The Career Study)

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Internal Research Project of the

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February 3, 1967

O U T L I N E

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(The Career Study)

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INTRODUCTION

In this section we move in closer for an even more intimate look at the nature of work and majority-minority relations in the civil service than what we have offered previously. But, in offering more detail it becomes necessary to narrow the scope of our inquiry. Only four careers will be treated here.

They are a varied lot: makers of economic policy, research scientists in the field of agriculture, language experts skilled in translation, and engineers or other technical specialists engaged in the examination of patent applications. They do, however, share one leading trait. Each career type is the dominant element in the larger work unit in which it is found. The Finance Officer (F.O.) group encompasses those who are in the mainstream of the Department of Finance. In the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture, the Research Scientists (R.S.) or Research Officers (R.O.) are the most highly educated staff persons, each responsible for implementing a sector of the department's scientific program. The Translators are the major component of the Translation Bureau and the Patent Examiners of the Patent Office. Hence, each of these four careers offers the promise of leading into the most senior positions of their larger work unit.

In general, each of these reports on a particular career follows a similar pattern. First, some information on the bureaucratic structure of the workplace and the characteristics of those interviewed by the Career Study is offered. The second section which contains the bulk of the material, deals with the social background, education, and work experiences of the careerists. A final section reviews the problems of the work unit - recruitment, promotion, language use - with special reference to the position of French Canadians and other minorities within the unit.

Within the second section, where fruitful, a pattern has also been followed. The discussion moves chronologically through the person's early milieu and education to work experiences outside the civil service, if any, then on to the reasons for joining the civil service, and various aspects of work within the civil service. The civil service career is approached from two directions. One tack is to examine the predominant career orientation or style of the group as well as any deviant variations. Within a single career category, it is sometimes possible to point out major and minor behavioural threads. The other approach is through the attitudes the civil servants express and the perceptions they have of the civil service as an employment setting. From these two angles ethnic and linguistic differences often become apparent. Let us dwell on these two points for a moment.

Career orientation refers to the direction in which a career is moving and, consequently, the relative emphasis the person puts on various aspects of his work. For instance, some social scientists identify ideal types of career orientations: the "specialist" vs. the "institutionalist", the "technical" vs. the "managerial", or the "cosmopolitan" vs. the "local" or "organizational".¹ Each of these dichotomies indicates ideally opposite directions that a career can take. There is, however, a general theme underlying the three pairs. The "specialist" or the "technical" expert finds that his interests and pleasures are in the analysis and solution of complex technical problems. Such persons are also usually considered "cosmopolitans". The cosmopolitans according to Gouldner are highly committed to a specialized skill, are strongly motivated toward attaining status among their professional colleagues outside their employing organization, and, consequently, are low on loyalty to their employer.² At the

1. The following discussion draws extensively on these dichotomies as described by Dwaine Marvick, Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954: Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles - I, II," Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957-58), 281-306, 444-480; and Edgar H. Schein, William M. McKelvey, David R. Peters, and John M. Thomas, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, (March, 1965), 334-349.

2. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals - I", p. 290.

other pole is the "managerial" or administrative orientation. Persons with such an orientation find their interests and pleasures in supervisory, policy-making, or human relations skills. It is usual, but again not inevitable, that such persons manifest "institutionalist", "local" or "organizational" perspectives. They identify with the organization and its goals and foresee their futures unfolding within the organization. Low commitment to specialized skills and high loyalty to the employing organization are the predominant characteristics of this orientation. With this scheme of viewing differing career orientations we can locate the particular career under scrutiny at either pole of the dichotomy, or at some intermediate point between the two extremes.

Differing career orientations are also expressed in the style which a career embodies. Career style refers to the manner in which persons approach their work and engage their environment. Edgar Schein and his associates, who have written most extensively on this matter, identify four ways of examining career style. Three of the four are of particular interest to us.¹

1. Schein et al., "Career Orientations ... in a Research Organization".

(1) Movement - Non-movement

This pertains to the degree of anticipation or desire for career changes, whether this be by promotion, transfer, or the acquisition of more responsibility or influence.

(2) Active - Passive

This refers to the amount of influence on or manipulation of the work environment engaged in by the careerists. The active style advocates initiative in getting ahead of making career changes. The passive style asserts that one need not or should not engage the environment but rather that "things" will happen in time or take care of themselves.

(3) Idealistic - Cynical

This identifies the reactions of the careerist to his work environment in terms of its justness or ethical principles. The idealist acts as if rewards are commensurate with merit and the work rules operate as they should. The cynic expresses full expectations of injustice and disregard for ethics. He often feels that one must take an opportunistic approach to the organization in order to get ahead. Hopefully, the conceptions of career orientations and styles outlined above will illuminate the four careers that are presented here.

A second approach which contributes to a deeper appreciation of these careers is through an examination of the attitudes towards the workplace. In particular we look at the way in which the respondents define "success" and the manner in which it may best be achieved. The interview designed to explore these attitudes asked the respondents what advice they would give to a young man just entering the civil service. They were asked to define the personal qualities which would facilitate his rapid rise to the "top". Evidence was found of quite provocative differences of opinion on this point between various careers and linguistic groups.

The treatments of four public service careers which follow are based to a certain extent on the efforts of all members of the Career Study research group. However, each report must also be seen as the work of specific team members: Anne Dixon wrote the section on "The Finance Officer"; Carol Morgan "The Agricultural Researcher"; François Dorlot "La carrière de traducteur"; and Barbara Milne and Raymond Taillon "The Patent Examiner".

CHAPTER 12

THE FINANCE OFFICER:

POLICY-MAKER IN A GLAMOUR DEPARTMENT

This chapter focuses upon that section of the Department of Finance which comprises the central economic policy unit of the Federal government. Its concern is to examine the career of the Finance Officer within this setting.

The Department of Finance was chosen for the Career Study primarily because it is a powerful, policy-advising department. At the same time, the "Ottawa Establishment" is more likely to be drawn from the senior officers in Finance than from the senior persons in any other Department.¹ These are the men who are most likely to become Canada's leading civil servants. Given this, it becomes important to know what makes the Finance Officer tick - what distinguishes him from the majority of other civil servants. This report will attempt to isolate those features of his career that are most salient here.

1. In 1964, Peter Newman identified 37 men who made up Ottawa's "bureaucratic elite." Twenty of them were or had been associated with Finance. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," Macleans, August 22, 1964, page 7.

The chapter first examines the Department of Finance as a work milieu then discusses the way the career of the Finance Officer is shaped by this milieu. A typical career pattern is constructed for the Finance Officer; exceptions to the general pattern are also examined. Finally there is a discussion of the French Canadian within Finance and of the general attitude of the Department towards the problems of Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

The most important source of information about the Finance Officer was 22 interviews conducted by the Career Study group in the Department of Finance during August 1965, and a further 6 conducted in December 1965. In the latter a number of hypotheses which had already been formulated were able to be tested. In addition, this report draws extensively on informal interviews with the most senior men of the Finance Department done by the Holstad team. These interviews provide an overall view of the department.

The Interviewed Sample

The central "core" of the Department consists of about 245 persons, 75 of whom are Finance Officers, and the rest Administrators, Technical Officers, Clerks and Typists. The population of the Department of Finance falling within our age

and salary limits totals 54 subjects of whom 89% (N=48) are English Canadian and 11% (N=6) are French. The interviewed sample contained 28 English respondents randomly selected from the 48 English speakers, and all 6 French Canadians. The English sample constitutes 58% of the English population.

TABLE 12.1

MEAN AGE AND SALARY OF THE SAMPLE AND POPULATION
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

	<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>
	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
Age	37.1	37.5	35.6
Salary	\$10,392	\$10,898	\$10,976
	(N=28)	(N=48)	(N=6)

The average age and salary of the English sample approximates closely that of the English population. (See Table 12.1). It is worth noting that in both cases over half of the respondents are between 40 and 45 and that over half are earning more than \$10,000 per year. (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

Since there appeared to be a career route from Finance Officer up to Senior Officer, these two groups were selected from the other interviews.¹ Thirty-five Finance Officers, of whom 32 were English and 3 French-speaking, were included in the total population of 54. Of these, 24 (21 English and 3 French) were interviewed. There were also 8 Senior Officers (6 English and 2 French) in the target population of whom 4 (2 English and 2 French) were interviewed. These two interviewed groups, 28 in all, will be referred to collectively as Finance Officers.

In comparison with the total population, our sample tends to over-represent the Finance Officers and under-represent the Senior Officers. However, the combined percentage (82%) of Finance and Senior Officers in the sample is nearly equivalent to the percentage (79%) of both groups in the total population. A further comparison by grade shows that the distribution of officers, and especially that of Finance Officers from whom the majority of the sample is taken, closely reflects that of the department. It can be assumed therefore that the views expressed in the Career Study interviews are representative of the views of both Finance Officers and Senior Officers in

1. Finance Officers are graded 1 - 6; Senior Officers 1 - 3. Altogether in the Department there are 8 or 9 French-Canadian Finance or Senior Officers. Although all of them were interviewed, the report here deals primarily with the 5 who met our salary and age criteria.

TABLE 12.2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE AND POPULATION IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE BY AGE (IN PER CENT)

<u>Age</u>	<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>
	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
	%	%	%
25-39	25	19	8.3
30-34	11	17	8.3
35-39	14	8	16.7
40-45	50	56	16.7
TOTAL	100	100	50.0
	(N=56)	(N=96)	(N=12)

TABLE 12.3

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE AND POPULATION IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE BY SALARY.

<u>Salary</u>	<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>
	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Population</u>
	%	%	%
6200-7999	32	31	16.7
8000-9999	18	15	16.7
10000 -	50	54	16.7
TOTAL	100	100	50.0
	(N=56)	(N=96)	(N=12)

the Department of Finance as a whole. It is upon this premise that the following report has proceeded.

The Finance Image: Myth or Reality?

One respondent in an interview with the Career Study group discussed Finance's image as an "in-group". His point was that while "it is a sort of club, if you like... it is open to the talented - and has been for a long time". Being a club served merely to facilitate its capacity to "absorb" the entrant who was "good". A statement in a slightly different vein by a younger Finance Officer, himself a recent entrant supports this view:

The traditional route (to the top of the Finance department) is from Queen's to Oxford via a Rhodes Scholarship and back again... A lot of the top civil servants are Rhodes scholars. Clark was the first... But it is gradually becoming less so. This is the traditional route.

Another comment on the "image" is made by A.F.W. Plumptre, a former Assistant Deputy Minister in the department, in a paper delivered in Vancouver in June 1965:

Over the past ten years for example senior officials of the Department of Finance have been men educated at McMaster, Toronto, Queen's, Acadia, British Columbia, Laval, Western, Manitoba and McGill. In view of the persistence of a certain myth it should be mentioned that the one representative of Queen's left early in the period and has not been replaced.¹

1. A.F.W. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service", Canadian Public Administration, 8 (December 1965), footnote page 551.

It seems then that there is an awareness of an historic past in which the department operated like an exclusive club. That it still functions in this way is denied, but it is recognised that there are other carry-overs from the past.

In a sense (the Department) is under-staffed... because Finance has always wanted to show how much can be done with the least number of people. This is part of the influence of Dr. Clark.

Is the image merely rhetorical then? Although any answer can only be conjecture, it would seem that it has more importance than this. There is a sense of pride in the department and in the standards and exclusiveness of its membership. An F.O. 5, for example, expresses a very typical reaction:

Standards for Finance are exceptionally high. We expect not just people who are good: we want them to be exceptionally good. With the department being small and having an enormous amount of work to do we need people of more than average ability.

Certain standards of workmanship would seem to have developed in Finance. These are communicated widely within the department. A set of values has emerged to which conformity is not demanded but which finds non-conformity

suspect. There is no reason whatsoever to doubt that Finance is "open to the talented," but a certain amount of doubt remains as to the extent to which an entrant who does not successfully identify with these values will be considered "good" and be absorbed. This is the import of the following quotation by an officer who entered the department two years ago:

I sometimes suspect - it may be prejudice on my part - that unconsciously when someone's face fits then it's to do with his background. The Department of Finance has been likened to the Scottish Mafia. It is very much an in-group... The people who matter unconsciously see a man who doesn't quite fit when they look at me. They are unconsciously conscious - if you can be - of a man who isn't quite the right man with the right attitudes... I am sometimes conscious of it... my lack of rapport is often, I feel, related to my type of background... They think somehow that I'm strange for not sharing the same interests. The emphasis here is on certain types of sport for example. They are conscious that my metaphors come from a different source... In an unconscious way I think I represent attitudes they don't want.

Although this is not a typical opinion, it is possible that the respondent has provided the explanation of the Department's mystique. If he is right and the in-group flavour persists within the department, this may explain its explicit denial yet implicit assertion. It would

however be very difficult to prove this in any conclusive way.¹

Personnel and Promotion Policy

W.C. Clark, who was lured away from the Economics Department of Queen's University in the early 1930's, first introduced into the Department the tradition of hiring intellectuals. Since that time a first degree has been a prerequisite of entry to the Department, and a significant proportion of Finance Officers have their second and even third degrees. However, Clark's policy was not directed towards individuals with any particular skills, rather at attracting a number of university graduates whose background was of a particular intellectual type. This policy has been largely continued, although in recent years and with the recent emphasis upon the role of the expert, those graduates of the other disciplines have tended to be outnumbered by those who graduated in Economics. Political Science, History, Commerce, Philosophy, and even Modern Languages are all represented however.

-
1. In a different manner the image of Finance as a key policy-making department serves to give it a sense of coherency for the Finance Officer. Each officer works largely in isolation and the fact that he can relate his work to the overall image of the department becomes important if he is to feel himself successfully integrated into the organization.

University qualifications alone are not sufficient. A number of references are also made to the necessity of the policy-maker, in this case the Finance Officer, having what A.F.W. Plumptre, formerly of the Department, defines as "political judgement."¹ As a Division Director said in an interview "although they start from the financial end, (Finance Officers) have to have an understanding and feel for the political situation." The Department of Finance is not predominantly concerned with theory, although this has its place, and does not therefore want pure theorists but rather men who can see the practical application of economic theory to a broad field.

Partly as a result of their particular requirements, Finance is presently short of qualified personnel. But another and equally important reason is that, as a very senior spokesman put it, the Department's recruitment procedures and training policies are "not what they ought to be." There is evidence that this failing is causing a certain amount of concern among the senior levels.

In the same interview, the respondent went on to say that the Department followed the regular Civil Service Commission recruiting regulations, and that although some

1. "Regionalism and the Public Service", page 3.

approaches are made to the universities, the Department is really too busy to "beat the bushes" for people. Another senior man goes so far as to say that the Department's "recruiting, training, development practices, administration in general, have been appalling." There is however considerable optimism that comparatively recent recognition of personnel requirements and the changes that are gradually resulting from this will alter the recruiting situation for the better. In particular, reference is made to the appointment of a new personnel officer for the Department.

Personnel development policy as it stands at present is admittedly haphazard and proceeds on a predominantly ad hoc basis. There is no promotion pattern as such. Ideally the Department would prefer to recruit from the bottom. There are however no formalised internal training programmes. Educational leave, although implemented comparatively regularly, is arranged on an individual basis, and training is far more often acquired on the job. It is revealing to read in full the notes from one interview on an explanation offered by a Division Director:

Asked about recognisable career channels in his Division or in the Department, the respondent said, "If there are any it is fortuitous. I don't think it is a deliberate policy." People who come into the Department have to be well trained. The respondent said that he has six vacancies and these positions

are not filled because he has not found qualified people. Responsibilities are so heavy in the Department that those who respond are promoted very rapidly and moved about within and between Divisions. A number of postings are possible: Washington, - I.M.F.; Paris - the N.A.T.O. delegation and from time to time Geneva, Brussels, London, dealing with economic matters of some sort. What postings and where depend upon need and upon the availability of people. Officers receive postings and are assigned new problems to ensure that their experience is as broad as possible. Since the Department has been expanding, this moving of people has been easier to do. "Anyone with talent," he said, "has moved ahead rapidly."

Not all recruitment is from the bottom however, It is important to note that the Department of Finance recruits a relatively large number of its personnel at the higher levels. At these more senior levels recruiting is especially done through a "web of personal contacts": a system which stems back to W.C. Clark. There is an interchange at these levels between the bureaucratic, professional and academic sector of the nation. But Finance frequently loses more than it gains in this. To refer to a senior official again: "Department of Finance men, because of their government-wide contacts, become known to other Departments and then it is difficult for Finance to keep them. Persons who become Division Directors and Assistant Deputies within the Department of Finance have good chances for promotion in the Department as well as outside it." It is noteworthy that between 1960 and 1966 three Assistant Deputy Ministers in

Finance have gone to be Deputy Ministers in other Departments (Industry, Secretary of State, and Citizenship and Immigration) while the Deputy-Minister of a fourth department (National Defence) worked his way up through the Treasury Board.

Below the Director level however, any movement is generally intra- rather than inter-departmental. It might be worth noting at this point that the Department would in fact appear to exercise a phenomenal hold over its personnel at these lower levels.

Pre-Civil Service Experiences

Now that we have described the organization, image, and personnel policies of the Department, we turn to a discussion of the characteristics of those drawn into Finance. It will become clear in a moment that there is a common thread weaving together the childhood, educational, and non-governmental work experiences of those who enter Finance.

In this discussion, for most purposes, no distinction has been made between French and English Canadians. In general the experiences of the four French Canadians who fall into this category reflect very closely the overall career pattern.

(a) Social Background

1. Early Social Milieu

As far as the social milieu in which the Finance Officer spent his early life, there is no simple pattern to his experiences. His father may have been anything from salesman to lawyer or doctor and may have obtained only elementary schooling or his doctorate; the annual family income at the time of the respondent's youth might have ranged from as little as under \$3000 to as much as above \$15000. However, a few consistent trends can be noted which may prove significant in an analysis of his later career.

Of the twenty-eight Finance Officers in our sample, an unusually high percentage were brought up in the West of Canada; moreover, in marked contrast to the distribution within the Federal Public Service, only a small number came originally from the Ottawa-Hull area. (Table 12.4).¹

These figures are largely explained by the fact that Finance is a centralised department. If a university

1. The disproportionate number of English over French Canadians serves to inflate these figures. Generally a higher percentage of French than English Canadians originate from the Ottawa-Hull area.

graduate wishes to enter Finance he has no choice but to come to Ottawa. He cannot as in other Departments, work in a regional office near his home.

It is also possible to speculate that those who grew up in the West (7 in Saskatchewan alone) - especially in families who witnessed the Depression and the provincial reconstruction following it - derived a sense of the importance of government not conveyed to those from Eastern Canada where government has been less immediate. This hypothesis is partly borne out by the respondents themselves who sometimes refer directly to the influence of the West upon them and to the fact that "at the time of the Depression, social problems and economic concerns were the things of the moment." This is not the place to discuss why, if at all, such early experiences should result in a man's entering the Department of Finance, but it may be wise to keep in mind the possibility of such a formative influence.

TABLE 12.4

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE FINANCE OFFICER AND THE
TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT).

		TOTAL	Ottawa- Hull	Quebec	Ontario	Maritimes	West Canada	Outside Canada
Finance Officer	F	100% (N-5)	-	60	-	20	20	-
	E	100% (N-23)	13	9	9	4	43	22
Total Sub-Elite	F	100% (N-128)	43	37	8	4	3	5
	E*	100% (N-168)	18	6	25	8	23	21

* This and all subsequent totals for the English sub-elite are weighted so that the samples drawn from the larger departments are given extra weight.

There is a high rate of "class inheritance" among the Finance Officers; their fathers were usually at professional or managerial levels and the Officers themselves possess high economic and social status. Seventy-one per cent of the Finance Officers above the average for the five departments we investigated come from the combined middle class. Conversely, only 29% are of working class or farm origin, compared with the sub-elite average of 45% (Table 12.5).

Thirty-two per cent of the Finance Officers came from families whose connections were with the professional as opposed to the business community. A further three or four refer to these elements in their near if not immediate family.

While no definitive conclusion can be reached on the importance of this early orientation, it seems likely that it had a profound effect upon a number of respondents. Their replies indicate the existence of a trend of thought that may prove significant when we examine the motivation of the Finance Officer for entering the civil service. For example, a 26 year old F.O. 2, has this to say:

I come from a civil service family. I suppose to a large extent this oriented my thinking to the civil service or to teaching; more a service than a business orientation if you see what I mean.

He is echoed by a 45 year old F.O. 5:

I always had an inclination towards the kind of studies I took - I was interested in historical and political matters - so my orientation from childhood on was towards that. I wondered about influences because my family wasn't active in politics. I subsequently learned in later years when I visited my father's family in Scotland that they were active politically - I don't know whether this made a difference or not.

TABLE 12.5

SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS OF THE FINANCE OFFICER
AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Middle Class and Higher	Working and Farm
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	71	29
Total Sub-Elite* (N-296)	100%	55	45

*This and all subsequent totals for the sub-elite are weighted.

TABLE 12.6

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FINANCE OFFICER
AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	No University Degree	Under- Graduate Degree	Post- Graduate Degree
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	4	57	39
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	29	41	30

An S.O. 2 puts it more briefly:

It is probably significant that the whole tradition of my family background is one of political as opposed to business activity.

ii. Education

The high educational level of the Finance Officer has already been suggested. Eleven or 39% of those interviewed have a graduate degree, while the average for all five departments is 30%. (Table 12.6). Of the eleven, four have their doctorate; a few others have only to complete their thesis. And of those with their Bachelor's degree more than half are at present engaged towards working on their master's.

This determination to continue their education is typical of the general outlook of the Department. These men put a high value upon intellectual achievement and as a result show themselves to be remarkably motivated towards attaining intellectual goals. Perhaps the most important aspect, however, is that a surprisingly large number of Finance Officers only completed their education over a span of a number of years. Eight took over ten years after they left High School to finish the university courses they had set themselves, and a further ten took

between six and nine years. A large part of this can be accounted for by the war and military service, but there is also a significant number of respondents whose education was interrupted by pauses to earn money to continue, or often by a change of course following a re-orientation of thinking that was recognised and acted upon. To these must be added the respondents who are still continuing their education.

The educational specialization of the Finance Officers is almost exclusively on the Arts side.¹ Economics appears sixteen times, Political Science twelve times, and Commerce and Accounting six. These figures are calculated on the total education however, and it must be remembered that one respondent may account for one subject being mentioned twice, if he continued it through from undergraduate to graduate level.¹ The purpose of the figures is merely to indicate the general orientation of the Finance Officer's education, manifested in his choice of courses. It is worth noting, however, that generally a Master's or Doctor's degree will be in Economics or Political Science.

1. Three began a course in engineering and one in medicine. One respondent holds a degree in Physics.

The findings of our sample are largely consistent with A.F.W. Plumptre's statement, already quoted, that the Finance Officers are drawn from the whole spectrum of Canadian universities. The figures used are again based on the number of respondents who attended a particular university at some stage in their career. Again, therefore, one respondent may account for two or three universities. Five respondents attended Queen's at some stage during their education, three at undergraduate and two at graduate level. Seven attended the University of Toronto and five McGill University. Six graduated from the University of Saskatchewan, five from the Universities of Alberta and Manitoba, one from British Columbia, one from Laval, and so on.¹ One point of interest is that the Finance Officer generally tends to move from university to university as he progresses. By the completion of his education, therefore, he has gained a fairly broad and diverse experience.

In connection with this it is interesting that six respondents took one of their degrees at the London School of Economics, two at Oxbridge and one in Paris, and that one spent some time at Hong Kong University. It is all part of the general tone of the Finance Officer's general

1. The French-Canadian universities are necessarily under-represented given the French/English distribution of our sample (or of the Department).

educational background. He is highly trained but rarely specialized, although he may have concentrated one area over another. He has usually maintained a broad base to his education by moving through a number of courses, universities, or even countries.

At college the Finance Officer generally takes part in a number of extra-mural activities, which help to shape his thinking about a career. He is, for example, active in student administration and politics, in debating, and in journalism. The last provided an opportunity for a number of respondents to combine their interest in public affairs with their interest in writing. But journalism as a definite factor in the Finance Officer's background can best be treated in a later section.

Despite his comparatively active university life, the Finance Officer was invariably placed in the top third of his final year: another indication of generally high intelligence coupled successfully with broad interests.

In summary, the typical Finance Officer is likely to have come from a professionally oriented family of comparatively high social standing. Contrary to the image that he is a Queen's student, he is more likely to have been to one or more of a variety of other Canadian colleges.

By the completion of his education he will probably have gained, or at least done some work towards, a higher degree in political science or economics. He will have been especially active in college activities related to the general field of public affairs and have graduated with a first or upper second class degree.

(b) Career Past

i. Selecting an Occupation

Having obtained his degree the Finance Officer makes an occupational choice. This is not to say that he decides upon the specific job in which he will spend the remainder of his career, but that he formulates for himself, or may in fact already have done so, the general field in which he hopes to work. What motivates him in this choice?

The possible importance of the Finance Officer's early family environment has already been noted. An extension of this 'service' oriented thinking can be seen in his motivation towards an area of career interest. Witness the remarks of a 27 year old F.O. 4 and a 40 year old S.O. 1:

When at Carleton (University) I became interested in social and economic problems. I decided then I wanted to tackle the world's problems by working

in the public sector, not for industry. Some professors steered me into economics but an athletic coach was the person who started my interest in community work. I had no really definite plans. I thought about teaching economics at university.

D'abord j'ai toujours été intéressé à une carrière publique plutôt qu'à une carrière individuelle... Il me semble que c'est une fonction utile que de contribuer à élaborer la politique de son pays et d'avoir l'impression de participer à l'orientation des destinées du monde.

The emphasis on "public service" is reiterated in a statement by an F.O. 5 who had once intended to enter the ministry:

I started off in university as a candidate for the United Church ministry. I decided halfway through that I had no business being a minister... my motives were still along the line of doing something worthwhile. I decided on public service about my third year.

Thus the Finance Officer tends to define his interest as predominantly towards either government service or university teaching. However, a number of Finance Officers are drawn towards journalism:

I had a keen interest in public affairs and I enjoyed writing. I thought of the newspapers or broadcasting.

This was the fairly typical remark of an F.O. 5. In University more than a third of the Finance Officers took part in journalistic activities, as editors, on editorial

boards, or as contributors. Three of these eight and a further two respondents actually spent a period in professional journalism. There would seem to be no necessary connection between journalism and the Department of Finance, except that both are involved in public affairs. An S.O. 2 however offers this explanation:

It is much more the same type of work than people realise. I was working on the editorials and I had to produce an opinion in a matter of hours. It is the same here now. Journalism is good training actually. There are a lot of people who come to us from journalism. The pressure is often the same and you have to be able to produce things quickly.

ii. Previous Work History

Given this closely defined area of occupational choice it is not surprising to find that, excepting those late entrants into the Department, the Finance Officer typically enters directly into the Public Service on, or very soon after, leaving university. Further, entry into the Public Service is in this case synonymous with entry into the Department of Finance.

The majority of Finance Officers enter the civil service early on in their work life. For almost a third of them it is their first full-time employment. This is about the same rate of direct entry as is found in the

the rest of the sub-elite. Those who do work elsewhere before joining are of two types. First, in line with the policy of the Department, 21% of Finance Officers are late entrants who have successfully established a career outside the Department. Second, many Finance Officers take their education to a high level over a period of time, interspersed with a variety of jobs. Quite apart from working like most students during the summer, the Finance Officer is likely to have worked in the interim years between periods of education.

Fifty per cent of the early entrants, including all French-Canadian respondents, entered directly into Finance on graduation. A further three respondents held jobs only while they were completing their education (typically one or two years of journalism or university teaching). Two entered provincial government, each for no more than two years and only three spent a significant period working outside the Department. The Finance Officer does not necessarily, therefore, any more than any other group, move rapidly from job to job. Rather he gives the impression of having a remarkable career stability. He makes his choice fairly early and, from the evidence presented in the interviews, shows few signs of leaving the Department of Finance having once entered it.

iii. Reasons for Joining the Public Service

The reasons for the Finance Officer's decision to enter the public service have already been touched upon in the course of the previous sections. Briefly, this decision can be seen as the result of either negative or positive attractions.

The negative factors are those which propel a person away from certain fields. The Finance expert considers himself to have four alternatives open to him: the business world, the government, university teaching, or journalism. For economic reasons he rejects the last two. University salaries, for example, "were abysmally low" and "journalism was and is too low paid - the relative pay scale for journalists is lower in Canada than in the U.K.". He rejects business on ethical grounds. By a process of elimination, therefore, the Finance Officer arrives at a decision to enter the Federal Government. Concurrently, his decision is the result of a positive attraction for the civil service. The Finance Officer sees the civil service as offering a unique opportunity to contribute in an important way to the regulation of the world's problems. One 44 year old Senior Officer for example feels this way:

It is true probably that the professors at Queen's had a great deal of influence. They had, most of them, served in Ottawa through the Depression years, and there was a feeling - although it never became articulate - that this (government service) was worth doing.

This theme of the influence of his university professors upon the Finance Officer's decision is repeated by other respondents. Another S.O. 2 expresses it this way:

Ma formation en sciences économiques à Laval... les conseils de mes professeurs à l'époque (le P. Lévesque, Maurice Lamontagne) m'ont convaincu que je pouvais aider les miens aussi bien et peut-être mieux au niveau fédéral qu'à échelon provincial... ma formation à Laval a... beaucoup contribué à ma décision.

But it is significant that these are predominantly persons who graduated in the late nineteen-forties or early fifties. Any reference to the influence of the university is rare from those respondents who graduated recently. An exception is the F.O. 2 who was "encouraged by the Dean to write the Civil Service exams."

The Finance Officer may also feel that the Federal government offers the best opportunity to involve himself in the field of work in which he is interested:

I was quite interested in economic studies while at university. And I saw the best opportunity to use the training I got in the civil service.

This is the remark of an F.O. 2 in his late twenties. An F.O. 5 with recent experience at the London School of Economics echoes him:

The nature of my interests were essentially towards macro-economics and international politics. There is only one place to fulfill those interests in Canada.

More often the Finance Officer's decision is the result of a combination of these factors in which it is difficult to claim priority for one over the other. A dominant theme, however, is that his decision is based almost exclusively upon what may be termed as 'task' factors (attraction for the work per se) as opposed to the 'benefit' factors of security, job stability, opportunity to stay in the Ottawa-Hull area, and so on. A very high 78% of Finance Officers gave the former as their primary reason for joining the civil service while only 48% of the total population gave this as their first reason (Table 12.7).

TABLE 12.7

REASONS FOR THE FINANCE OFFICERS JOINING THE PUBLIC SERVICE (IN PER CENT).

	TOTAL	Benefit Factors	Task Factors
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	21	78
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	42	48

iv. Entering the Department

What leads the Finance Officer to choose the Department of Finance in particular? Again a number of factors must be taken into account. His decision may be the result of the influence of personal contact; it may be the result of experience of the work of the Department; it may be based upon a previous conception of the Department (its image); or it may be a combination of these factors.

Family and friends play only an indirect part in the Finance Officer's decision. More important are personal contacts with members or ex-members of the Department of Finance itself or of other government departments. An F.O. 3 who has been in Finance for four years explains:

I learned about the Department of Finance and decided that I would be interested in it rather than in External, through Mr. Plumptre, then Assistant Deputy Minister. His personal influence was the most important factor. I met him at Toronto. He used to come to Toronto specifically to speak to the people in the economics department.¹

These contacts occur most often within the university context:

J'étais étudiant en Economique et c'est M. Maurice Lamontagne, l'actuel secrétaire d'Etat, alors professeur à Laval, qui m'avait conseillé cet emploi.

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1. The Department admits that its recruitment procedures could be improved. In particular it is concerned to extend this type of liaison between the Department and the Universities.

Only three respondents had actually done work for the Department before entering it on a permanent basis. Two are French Canadians. It is impossible to generalize from these three, but it would appear that in each case, the experience gained during the course of summer employment had a profound effect upon the respondent:

Après mon expérience des vacances, j'ai aimé le genre de travail du ministère des Finances... mon orientation s'est donc précisée à ce moment.

I had worked there in the summer before my Ph. D. and it just seemed natural to go back. I found the work exciting,¹ and what they were involved in appealed to me.

Parenthetically, it is worth noting that these reactions may be significant in view of the fact that the Department at present gives every evidence of being concerned with summer student programmes as a way of attracting university graduates to the Department. These summer programmes are especially concerned with French-Canadian students. Apart from the regular government-wide programme, Finance participates in an Institute of Public Administration programme which sent two French Canadians to the Department in the

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1. A few respondents also worked for government departments other than Finance, which served to orient their thinking a little. But it must be stressed that these numbers are small and can be taken only to indicate a trend of thinking. The majority of respondents worked in their summers in totally unrelated jobs.

summer of 1964, and in another programme which brought in two or three additional French-Canadian students in the same year (and presumably in subsequent years) to enable them to get experience of the Federal Civil Service.

The total number of respondents influenced by personal contacts and/or previous experience is, however, small; six or seven in all. A far more important factor would seem to be that of the Departmental image itself. It offers the Finance Officer, at one and the same time, work that he considers important and the intellectual stimulation he demands:

I was looking for something in the Public Service... in the government there are two or three departments which control the others and Finance is one of them. You have the feeling that the work you are doing has an importance beyond the present job.

Finance attracted me because it is at the centre of many types of things and the work is related to policy decisions. Very largely policy decisions which affect a number of other departments.

These are the remarks of a 35 year old F.O. 5 and a 27 year old F.O. 2. An F.O. 6 adds:

I was an economist... The responsibilities of the Department of Finance seemed interesting and challenging.

Or an F.O. 4 and another F.O. 2:

I had a desire to play a part in the making of national economic policy which would shape the country's future.

I liked the idea of working for Finance. It is a key department and a good place to get on.

The majority of those who enter the department upon graduation enter through the normal civil service channels: through J.E.O. (Junior Executive Officer) or J.F.O. (Junior Finance Officer) exams. The importance of personal contact becomes more marked in the case of the late entrants.

The Department is proud of its flexibility of personnel policy, however, and it is important to note that in a number of cases Finance does tend to 'absorb' its personnel from summer jobs, on individual recommendation and so on. Five cases of just such absorption among the early entrants demonstrate the Department's willingness to accommodate itself to the talent it wants.

Thus, in summary, it could be said that the Finance Officer is motivated in his choice of occupation by the desire to make a contribution in the public sector. Aside from the late entrants and those who spend a few years in university teaching or in journalism, most enter directly into the Federal Government and, typically, the Department of Finance. Choice of department is occasionally the result of direct experience of its work or of the recommendation of someone with contacts there. More often it is the result of a desire to enter the policy field and all that this implies. In this case, one enters by means of the J.E.O. or J.F.O. examination.

Civil Service Career

Basically two distinct career patterns can be seen within the Department of Finance. The dominant pattern is of the "bright young man" who enters the Department at the beginning or very near the beginning of his career and who moves very quickly within it to a senior level. Fifty-eight per cent (N-16) of those Finance Officers in our sample fall into this category: twelve English Canadians and four French Canadians. A less common pattern is that of the late entrant who enters the department in mid-career, having already built up a body of relevant experience. These are of two types: the entrant from university, professional, business, or government administrations other than the Canadian Federal (21% of the total); and the entrant from other areas of the Federal Public Service (21% of the total).

The tone of the Department is set by the career of the bright young man. His career will therefore be treated exhaustively and the career of the late entrant examined later in relation to it.

a. Career Orientation

The young Officer, as will have become clear, demands that his work should be intellectually challenging. In a few cases this emphasis upon intellectual achievement resembles closely that of the pure scientists or researcher, as is seen in these two quotations from an F.O. 2 who has been in the department for three years and an F.O. 5 with nine years of service:

I would stay in the job as long as I found it interesting. The promotions themselves I don't find the primary motivation. I'm not in an administrative pattern but rather a professional pattern related to a specific area of interest... I'm not interested in administering as such.

I'm rather interested in the subject. What I am working at is rather interesting. I'm not just interested in progress. I would have moved elsewhere by now because there are lot of possibilities opening up... I'm mostly interested in what I am doing and I wouldn't like to have to change my job.

These are not strictly typical, however, although they do represent an important strand within the Finance Officer's make-up.

It is difficult to place the Finance Officer into one of our usual career types. He is neither specialist nor generalist, administrator nor technician. Conventional classifications tend to emphasize one aspect of a man's

work disproportionately, and do not meet our requirements here. The Finance Officer is rather the "double-edged expert" referred to by John Porter,¹ and combines within his personality something of each of these dimensions. This will be seen more clearly through an examination of the thinking of the Finance Officers themselves, especially as they attempt to answer the question of whether their work is predominantly administrative or technical.²

The most common answer was that it is neither; it is "policy formulation". One respondent considered that possibly the work is "executive" if anything. Several agreed, as did this 35 year old F.O. 5, that it is that of a negotiator:

I think a lot of this can be summed up as the ability to negotiate. Ability to take a position and defend it and know how far you can go.

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1. The Vertical Mosaic, p. 421: "There are two senses in which a senior official may have expert knowledge. He may be an expert in a technical discipline such as economics or geology, or he may be an expert in the administration of a particular department. He may be an expert in both senses... A minister in taking over a department may face an array of such double-edged experts."
 2. Question 33 on the interview asked: "Are these skills (which the present job requires) mainly administrative or technical skills?"

Almost without exception the Finance Officers pointed out that they do not administer in the usual sense of the word, unless it is policy directives, because they have no staff to supervise. Yet the Finance Officer has a good deal of the administrator in him. The S.O. 2 for example, who considered his work executive, stressed that above all he had "to learn to delegate authority", and a F.O. 5 feels that the Finance Officer needs to "know how to deal with other government people". These are administrative skills.

At the same time the Finance Officer is a technician, albeit an intellectual technician, who sets out "deliberately to make himself an expert in some field", and who sees himself very definitely as an economist, international theorist, or whatever. It is this side of his work that leads one officer, an F.O. 3, to say:

We're a policy shop, not a research staff, and yet because of our interests and the background of a few of us here I feel that what might be considered as research on other countries must be done here.

Views on the value of specialization vary. Take these two seemingly contradictory statements for example:

Specialization is best... generalization is on its way out.

Here you have to stay as general as possible to get ahead.

However these opinions are not necessarily irreconcilable. The general consensus would seem to be that beyond a certain (undefined) level, specialization becomes dangerous, but previous to this point it may prove valuable and even necessary. This is the implication of such remarks as that of an S.O. 1:

Avoir une spécialisation et le goût de la recherche mais ne pas se limiter à la spécialisation plus on progresse vers les plus hauts niveaux administratifs.

Or that of an F.O. 5:

Stay long enough to get depth then move to get breadth.

A more personal view is provided by the F.O. 3 quoted below:

The more I permit myself to become limited to one area of work, the more limited I am for promotion. I was advised to move around in the Department.

Insofar as the Finance Officer exercises a certain degree of interpersonal manipulation, then, he is an administrator. Insofar as he is knowledgeable in the economic field and emphasises the importance of the intellectual satisfaction which he derives from his work, he is a technical expert, though of generalist rather than specialist application. Finally, there is within his total

personality an element of "institutionalist", in that he tends to identify with and define his career in terms of the bureaucracy in which he finds himself.

At first sight, the institutionalist perspective would seem to be inconsistent with the Finance Officer's predominantly intellectual orientation. But although he sometimes considers employment possibilities outside the federal service, he intimates more in their tone than in actual words, that the most likely course is continuing within the Public Service. An important qualification is that this should be within the policy areas of the government.

b. Career Style

In examining the career style of the Finance Officer the general scheme suggested by Schein and his associates¹ will be used as the starting point for discussion.

Movement - Non-movement

The young Officer very definitely conceives his career in terms of upward mobility. Typically, he sees it as based predominantly within the Department of Finance. More so

1. Schein et al., "Career Orientations & Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization."

than other civil servants, he expects to move through the department to a senior level and then transfer to increasingly senior levels in other areas of the government. (See Table 12.8). Ultimately he may consider returning to university teaching, but few other alternatives to government service are given more than cursory recognition. Moreover, he will only rarely consider moving to a department other than Finance until it becomes necessary for further promotion. And often this eventual transfer is considered without enthusiasm, as by this senior officer:

I'll probably be promoted pretty soon... The increase in financial terms at this level is minimal though. And I doubt whether I shall find any job to go to as interesting as the one I have now, if I go to National Revenue or somewhere... This is one reason why I might prefer to go into teaching.

The Finance Officer has, in fact, definite views on the subject of other departments: he considers only one or two comparable to Finance itself.

However, within this pattern of mobility the Finance Officer qualifies his career expectations. His quiet acceptance that he will reach the bureaucratic elite comes from knowledge of his own abilities rather than from any positive sense of ambition. (Although obviously ambition has a place.) He will not put aside other values in order to enjoy movement

TABLE 12.8

FUTURE CAREER PROGRESS OF THE FINANCE OFFICER AND
THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

		Unlimited	Optimistic - Several - More	Limited - One or Two More	Not In- terested in	Potential Leaving	Potential Reached
	TOTAL	Progress	Promotions	Promotions	Progress		
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	32	32	14	7	10	4
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	13	56	15	10	3	3

TABLE 12.9

LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE OF THE
FINANCE OFFICER AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT).

	TOTAL	Committed	Uncommitted
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	54	46
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	67	32

per se. The feeling that was hinted at in the quotation above is stated explicitly by a significant number of other respondents such as this 25 year old F.O. 2:

As long as I find the work stimulating I will stay. But I would not hesitate to move if I find I reach a point where I can no longer learn, or gain new ideas or new insights into the field.

An F.O. 3 is particularly vocal on this point:

I don't believe in trying to get to the top. If you have capabilities and opportunities and the time is right, then you can do things to improve your usefulness to the department... If I decide that I am most excited and interested by the kinds of policy Finance has to deal with as decisions then I might be likely to make a contribution in the Department of Finance stream wherever it leads... To me what is important is doing what I am interested in as a human being with certain intellectual and personal interests. That is the top.

The Finance Officer accepts implicitly that the Department will continue to provide him with the opportunity to "move up the ladder and to get the responsibility and get introduced to the experience that I consider important".

On the other hand, several respondents are not certain that they see their future career within the civil service at all, and feel that they may instead move into the university community; others refuse to commit themselves outright to a field of work which they may ultimately find

uninteresting. Considering such factors as these, the Finance Officer on the whole seems to show a slightly lower level of commitment to the civil service than the average for the total population (Table 12.9). It must be emphasised, however, that these figures do not by any means represent dissatisfaction of the Finance Officer with his career as he sees it at present. The evidence of the interviews would suggest rather an immense satisfaction with its progress.

Active - Passive

Very closely allied to the question of his career movement is the question of whether the Finance Officer approaches his career actively or passively. Does he expect to take the initiative in his career, or does he feel that it is not necessary to engage his environment; that his career will take care of itself? In relation to the Finance Officer it is difficult to present a straightforward answer, and it will be useful to examine his particular work setting in some detail as a preliminary to any discussion.

The Department of Finance is structured slightly differently from most other government departments. Perhaps most important, the internal promotion system is designed to be flexible, and to accommodate individual talents and abilities as they are perceived by the senior officers.

Very simply, career development can best be described as dependent upon what amounts to a system of sponsorship. A senior man offered this terse description:

It is possible for a few senior people to know the young men and pick out those that are going to be good and give them promotion.

Thus, a Finance Officer will usually meet very early on the same experience as this F.O. 2:

Any young person here is given as much responsibility as they can handle and must sink or swim. Some sink and some swim. Just after I came here I was asked to go to a meeting with five or six A.D.M.'s¹ and had to represent our interests on a particular matter... It was not so important, but I was thrown in, so to speak, without much experience.

The inevitable corollary to this is described here by an S.O. 2:

We give as much responsibility as possible as a deliberate policy, and then we find out who can handle it. Then that man will move... .

The entrant who does prove that he can handle as much responsibility as is given him then finds himself sent on the special projects and assignments that will continue to enlarge his experience, develop his skills, and open the way to yet further responsibility. Even the Finance Officers

1. Assistant Deputy Minister.

at the first two levels attend inter-departmental and sometimes international meetings as part of the deliberate policy referred to by an F.O. 4:

We tend to send the lower grades to these meetings which might be attended by the A.D.M.¹ of another department.

The comparatively high rate of inter-departmental committee attendance of the Finance Officer is shown in Table 12.10. As they move through the department, Finance Officers find themselves increasingly involved in international conferences and as representatives to several countries.

TABLE 12.10

NUMBER OF INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES IN WHICH FINANCE OFFICERS CURRENTLY ARE MEMBERS AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT).

	TOTAL	None	One	Two or More
Finance Officer (N-28)	100%	61	21	18
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	89	7	4

1. Assistant Deputy Minister.

Largely, therefore, the Finance Officer's approach to his career is one of passivity. If he demonstrated and continues to demonstrate a high level of ability, he is moved automatically into the areas where this ability will be both used and augmented. This serves to a large extent to reconcile the admission by a significant number of respondents of a "drifting" approach to their career with the strong possibility of a very successful future for them within the department. The Finance Officer does not find that he has to consciously engage his environment to the extent that he must deliberately plan ahead to achieve promotion. Perhaps an S.O. 1 explains their attitude best:

Il est difficile de planifier à l'avance et de prévoir les "postes successifs"... c'est une question d'orientation générale. Les postes se créent et disparaissent suivant les besoins... il (the Finance Officer) doit s'occuper de son affaire en faisant son travail très bien et en surveillant ses intérêts. S'il est compétent et s'il veut monter, il montera.

An F.O. 6 says more briefly, "You work along and the department moves you".

It is misleading however to represent the Finance Officer as passive. The system of sponsorship does not operate independently of individual initiative but is complementary to it. Sponsorship does not mean, as one F.O. 5 points out, that the Finance Officer is taken "by the hand".

Its implications are rather that "the sooner they can show they can work without direction the sooner they will get ahead". The Finance Officer may not plan his career but he takes every opportunity to demonstrate the qualities upon which that career will depend. A recurring theme for example is that the approach to work in the Finance department cannot be that of the stereotypes nine-to-five civil servant. An F.O. 2 explains it as a "willingness to go a little beyond what you're asked to do". Above all, outside of doing the best job possible, this entails keeping abreast of intellectual developments in other fields through participation in educational and professional activities. A 44 year old S.O. 1 goes further:

La participation à différents organismes, à des délibérations; les contacts avec les milieux universitaires, intellectuels et d'affaires, contribuent à maintenir l'esprit en éveil.

A 26 year old F.O. 2 expresses similar sentiment:

Contact with as wide a spectrum of people as possible who have some relation to your work is valuable. In the universities that would be the Department of Economics for example. Some government associations... these aren't organizations in the establishment sense of the word, but they are opportunities for further contact, for being exposed to particular ideas".

It is on the basis of his showing in a variety of situations that the Finance Officer is assessed:

The speeches, papers, given by members at outside conferences have an effect.

Only when he has demonstrated the drive, determination, self-confidence, sense of responsibility, and other qualities that are demanded of him, will he meet with sponsorship. This is the import of the remark by an F.O. 5 that "promotion comes in Finance; it can be earned rather than waited for".

The often meteoric career of a bright young man is thus the result of an interaction of his own ability with departmental policy. A man of talent and the necessary social skills who unstintingly produces high-calibre material will be noticed by his seniors and "brought along" (to use a favorite Department phrase) into the upper ranks of Finance.

c. Career Skills

What skills does the Finance Officer consider necessary for his work?

The first and most important attribute cited by the majority of Finance Officers is "superior ability". This implies an above average intelligence and a high degree of

formal economic and/or political science training. It was noted in the previous section that the Finance Officer also considers it important that he maintain his standards in these fields through continuing contact with the relevant educational and professional organizations. It is equally important this his intellectual bent should be that of the pragmatist rather than the theorist:

If we assume I'm to be effective in my job then I have to have some competence in economics - with the emphasis on the practical not theoretical.

Over and above this basic ability the job of Finance Officer demands a quality that is variously defined as political judgement or political sense: a way of thinking which makes the Finance Officer's basic training valuable in terms of the goals of the Department. An F.O. 4 expresses it clearly:

One has to be able to gauge what will go. They want people who have a feel of what government is all about. It requires an understanding of what is politically possible in Canada.

This is a theme which is stressed continually. It is further illustrated here by an F.O. 2 and another F.O. 4:

You need a good political sense and negotiating ability. Having a good political sense is more than simply being able to anticipate how my minister will react to my proposals. It's having a certain intuition as to what will work and what won't; what will be accepted and what won't.

You need a political sensitivity - judgement. An ability to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of a course of action and to take the right decision.

The day to day work of the Finance Officer brings him into constant contact with ministers and officials of his own and other departments.¹ It is not surprising to find, therefore, that he emphasizes the place of both written and oral communication skills in his work. In writing he is required to prepare statements quickly, clearly and concisely (the relevance of any journalistic training can be seen here); in speaking he must be fully articulate and capable of comprehensive explanation. The latter are the skills of a negotiator. The Finance Officer is primarily a representative of the opinions of the Finance Department. Thus he needs to be able to deal with people, especially government people, and convey ideas effectively through the medium of personal contact.

This concept of negotiating ability is explained by a number of respondents and illustrated here by quotations taken from Finance Officers at various levels of the Department:

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1. It would be pertinent here to quote at greater length from A.F.W. Plumptre's paper to which reference has already been made concerning the importance of "political judgement": "...The characteristic which differentiates the really senior, influential public servant from the junior or more routine operator is precisely the quality of adding to technical and administrative expertise a sense of whether a particular action or policy, in a particular form, is, from a political point of view, a starter in the race for ultimate approval and acceptance." "Regionalism and the Public Service", p. 549.

You need to be able to get along with other people. This is very important. You have round-table discussions on policy views. You must compromise on differences. You have to be flexible.

You need to be able to speak well - and understand the point of view of the person opposing you even though you may not always be sympathetic. Plus all the qualities a negotiator needs. These are indefinable. It's like playing chess. You have to be able to see several moves ahead".

You have to be able to convince people... you have to be able to get along with people, particularly those from other governments... you have to wait while compromises are hammered out.

An F.O. 5 sums it up very briefly as the "ability to take a position and defend it and know how far you can go".

If priorities are to be established among the skills the Finance Officer considers important in his work, it must be concluded that he emphasises above all, the ability to do his job supremely well:

Do the best job possible. Do a better job than any one else around you and you'll be promoted. There is no substitute for excellence of work performance.

It must be stressed, however that in order for the Finance Officer to fulfill this goal of "excellence of work performance" he considers it essential that he also develop human relation skills.

Perceptions of How To Get Ahead in Finance

The Finance Officer's actual approach to his career has been examined in some detail. Do his perceptions of career success correspond to or conflict with this picture? If he was asked for advice as to how to reach the top in his career, what would be his answer?

Technical competence in his job, the ability to meet its demands, and the right personal attributes are heavily emphasized. Typical advice to the hypothetical young man who wishes to reach the top would be that given by a 35 year old F.O. 5:

He would have to be of above average intelligence. Must show signs of potential for development. Potential or signs of a great deal of self-confidence and a presence. He must have the ability to think clearly and to write clearly. You've got to be able to work or show the potential of being able to work with a minimum of direction.

Here are two more respondents, an S.O. 1 and an F.O. 2:

Avoir une spécialisation et le goût de recherche (et) avoir de l'entregent, développer une personnalité qui sait s'imposer... il doit savoir faire travailler les autres.

Above average intelligence... ease with people, good judgement, clarity in expressing his ideas.

It can be seen that the recurring themes are of "above average intelligence" and the ability to apply this in such intangible skills as judgement and communication; also of "confiance en soi" as it manifests itself in work and in personal relationships. To these could be added the readiness "à travailler fort et tard". An F.O. 4 perhaps sums it up best:

You need a tremendous amount of drive, physical and intellectual energy.

The Finance Officer does not simply value ability and self-confidence for himself; he feels one must demonstrate these qualities. Look at the two quotations from a 44 year old F.O. 6 and a 35 year old F.O. 4:

I don't think that people want 'yes' men. They want ideas and they want them pushed as long as they are good. They are looking for new ideas and thoughts.

He should make himself noticed and indispensable. If he has ideas he should not hesitate to put them forward.

There is one other very important prerequisite of success: choice of the right department in which to make his career. The Finance Officer feels strongly, for example, that the hypothetical young man should keep out of "dead-end departments" or "tradition-ridden departments", and, interestingly, "avoid like the plague any departments with administration":

Any department where you are working in policy, you can advance more rapidly than if you are doing administration only.

This is the opinion of an F.O. 2 and he is voicing that of a significant number of other officers. The general consensus is, in fact, that if he is going to get ahead, the very best place for the young man would be the Department of Finance. An S.O. 1 says:

S'il veut un jour participer à l'élaboration des politiques de l'Etat, il doit élargir son domaine d'expérience. Je crois qu'un ministère comme celui des Finances peut fournir cette expérience.

He is echoed by an F.O. 5:

He would want to go into a department with wide ramifications, and I think Finance is one of them.

It follows from this that the Finance Officer most often advises that the best route to the top is by way of intra- as opposed to inter-department movement:

Il est préférable qu'il change de division dans un même ministère.

The various and interlocking perceptions of how to get ahead are adequately drawn together by a 25-year old F.O. 2 and it will be worth quoting him at some length. It can easily be seen that his advice to the young entrant resembles the success formula for Finance:

I would think his best route would be to get into one of the more important departments - to try to get his teeth into something where he has operational responsibility, where he can prove he can do it or can't do it. Good departments are Finance, Trade and Commerce, possibly parts of Justice. (I'm really lying. I think Finance is the only place!)

A man who spent 20 years in Finance and is now a Deputy Minister said, "spend 20 years in Finance and you're bound to be Deputy Minister of something"... I'm convinced that it's true... It is sometimes said that you have to go to the Civil Service Commission in order to get experience in dealing with other government departments. I went to a J.E.O. lecture where we were told this by a man from the Civil Service Commission, but I don't believe it. This (Finance) is probably better...

I've been quite impressed with the senior people here. I would think he needs - there's an intelligence minimum here - I think he needs at least one technical skill. There has to be one thing you can do and do well. There has to be some reason why you are given more responsibility. It is important to have political intuition. He will need an ability to deal with ministers and people generally, ... deal with people inside and outside the department. These are largely skills. The personal qualities he will need are drive and determination, self-confidence. It would be tempting to say ambition, but this is not the only thing.

Profile of the Finance Office: A Résumé

Those Finance Officers referred to in previous sections as "bright young men" set the tone for the Department of Finance. A collective portrait drawing together their predominant characteristics will serve to identify this type more definitively.

More than 40 per cent of the English Finance Officers come from Western Canada. This is much higher than the proportion in any other Department. The early life of the Finance man will usually be in a family of relatively high social class, often with a parent in a profession.

The Finance Officer most often takes either economics or political science at University. He participates in a number of activities at college: student politics, administration, journalism. He will usually attain a first or upper second class degree. It is likely that he will also attain his Master's and, although less often, his Doctor's degree. His college career is a mobile one, encompassing several of both Canadian and non-Canadian universities.

During College the Finance Officer will make a career choice. He has often tried university teaching or journalism in the course of his education and rejected them as a full-time career because of their standards of pay, although he retains the desire to teach and may intend one day to return to it. The force of his early orientation was however towards the professional rather than the business communities and he feels himself very strongly motivated now towards 'service' work in the public sector, and government service in particular.

Having made his choice of the Federal Public Service because he wants to become involved in the regulation of national problems, the young man deliberately makes the direct choice of a policy department in which to enter. Occasionally he is influenced in his decision for Finance in particular by a university teacher, but more often he is drawn to the department by the image he has of it as a department at the centre of things.

The young Officer usually enters either as a J.E.O. or at level one. He expects to move comparatively rapidly into the senior levels of the Department. However he insists that this is not a move into the administrative levels. The Finance Officer sees his work as predominantly 'technical', the administration of policy rather than of people.

The career style of the young Officer embodies dual emphases. He retains the career mobility and the personal characteristics (drive to the top, determination, self-confidence) of the administrator. At the same time he is very largely motivated in his career decisions by the intrinsic interest he demands of work in a specialized field.

The bright young man finds that the structure of the Department of Finance complements his own career style. The Department requires that the Finance Officer have a high level of intelligence coupled with political judgement; that he be able to communicate his ideas quickly and effectively; and that he have a number of indispensable personal characteristics such as the above-mentioned drive and determination. If the Finance Officer demonstrates these attributes, he is moved by a system of sponsorship into areas of experience valuable to him. By these means a youthful Finance Officer is able to move rapidly through the Department.

The Finance Officer will move intra-departmentally, but he will rarely consider leaving the Department. This reluctance stems very largely from the sense of challenge and of contribution that he derives from his work. He tends to set Finance apart as a unique, high-powered area of the government. This image becomes important in giving a sense of coherency to the Department and providing a corporate identity for its work. The Finance Officer works largely on his own but does not, by reason of sharing this common image with his fellow officers, feel himself isolated.

The Finance Officer is usually well satisfied with his career. He feels at ease within both the formal and informal atmosphere of the Department and is confident of his own place within it. He is successful in a department where success succeeds.

A "model" career pattern would be that of a Finance Officer who entered the department ten or twelve years ago as an F.O. 1 or 2 and who has since progressed to level five or six and anticipates further promotions at a comparable rate. Early on in his career he was posted abroad; to Paris or to Geneva, for example, where he spent two or three years gaining a considerable amount of negotiating experience in the international field. He joined a different division of the department on his return and might have transferred again since that time. He was responsible for a period after his return for the Canadian side of the work he has been doing abroad. Then he shifted to analysis work and has since developed his career along these lines. He is variously involved in special studies and surveys connected with his work, and with projections based upon these. Much of his work, in some form or another, goes directly to the Minister. He spends a large part of his time outside Canada, travelling to Geneva, Paris, New York, Washington, for a variety of international conferences.

He has not stopped to think about the pattern of his future career, but hopes that it leads to a position of some power where the work is nevertheless as interesting as he finds it at present.

The Late Entrant

The late entrant into the Department of Finance usually enters at level four, occasionally higher. He may either be "jobbed-in"¹ from outside the Canadian Civil Service or he may transfer from some other area of the government. The distinction is important to any discussion of the department and each type will be treated here separately.

(a) The Parachutist

For the purposes of this study the term 'parachutist' has been defined to mean the man who "drops into" the Department of Finance at a comparatively senior level, having spent at least seven years (and usually far more) outside the civil service. He has, therefore, a considerable and successful career history behind him. Twenty-one per cent (N-6) of the Finance Officers interviewed fall into

1. This is the term used to describe the phenomenon of late entry from outside the Public Service by John Porter in The Vertical Mosaic, p. 436.

this category, but it should be noted that many other cases in the Department have been missed because of the upper cut-off age of forty-five exercised in our sample.

The parachuting in of entrants is, as has been said, part of the policy of the Finance Department. A few statistics will therefore serve to present briefly the type of career pattern of the parachutist before he enters the department, and incidentally illustrate departmental policy on this point.

Of the six respondents none is French Canadian and only one is Canadian born. The majority are of British origin. This does not necessarily imply that Finance either deliberately looks elsewhere, or that it has a preference for non-Canadian over Canadian entrants. The particular origin of the respondents may only be coincidence. It serves, however, to demonstrate Finance's willingness to take qualified personnel wherever it can find them. As far as their previous career background is concerned, two respondents came from the business community, two from journalism, and two from bureaucratic communities other than the Canadian Federal government.

Only two entered via an open competition. In two cases Finance acted quickly and positively on learning that the respondent was, as it were, "in the market". In the other two cases, a position was in essence created for the parachutist.

In view of these facts it is perhaps worth digressing to discuss the objection that is most often voiced against the concept of parachuting: that of its effect upon the morale of the particular department. It is suggested that it is discouraging and incentive-killing for the young entrant to see the senior positions towards which he himself is working going to government outsiders. However, in the Department of Finance this objection is successfully countered. The department is presently expanding and already short of staff. It is probable that in general there will continue to be jobs available for qualified personnel from either inside or outside the department. At the same time it is interesting to note that of the four Senior Officers interviewed by the Career Study group, (three of them Division Directors), three had a basically "one-department" career. That is to say, each began his career in Finance and, with the exception of one or two comparatively brief periods outside, has remained on the departmental pay-roll.¹

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1. It is interesting in connection with this point to quote John Porter's findings on government outsiders: "One quarter of senior public servants were 'jobbed-in' from outside, the largest proportion (31%) being with the Crown corporations, and the smallest proportion (21%) at the 'director' level which was also the level at which the largest proportion (30%) had spent their entire careers in the service." The Vertical Mosaic. (p. 436).

Although his basic career pattern differs considerably from that of the bright young man, the parachutist has a similar **social and educational** background and expresses remarkably similar attitudes about his career. To point to just one example of this, his career motivation is of the same **general type**. One F.O. 4 for example states:

Where I would emigrate was determined by the kind of employment I was offered and the nature of the country. The Canadian Civil Service had a high reputation as worthwhile: more purpose and sense of direction than others. Also my wish to move into policy field was a major component.

In a similar vein an F.O. 5, in answer to the question of what advice he would give a young man hoping to reach the top of his career replied:

I'd tell him not to be in such a hurry. And I'd tell him to think a little more of the service he could render his country and less of what he could do for himself.

Further parallels could be drawn. The parachutist has, in fact, much the same career orientation and style as the more typical Finance Officer. He tends, therefore, to reinforce rather than challenge the general tone of the department as it has been presented through the career of the bright young man.¹

1. Indeed, it can be suggested that since late entrants are appointed on the evidence of a known record of performance, they are in fact chosen for their conformity to the Department ethos. It would be difficult however to present evidence either to substantiate or to refute this suggestion.

A contrast to both the meteoric young entrant and the parachutist is presented by the entrant who transfers to Finance from some other government department.

(b) The Transfer

Twenty-one per cent (5 English and 1 French Canadian) of Finance Officers in our sample entered through an internal competition or transferred from another department: National Revenue, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Trade and Commerce. All entered at the F.O. 4 level. Four entered directly into the civil service after graduation and two had a period of outside work.

The career motivation of these transfer entrants is subtly different from that of the typical Finance Officer. Five of the six were primarily interested in entering private business and ultimately chose the civil service mainly for reasons of security, job availability, and so on: "benefit" as opposed to "task" factors. All six moved eventually into the Department of Finance for reasons of career development, promotion, and salary increase. None were drawn, as was the bright young man especially, and the parachutist to a lesser extent, by the 'prestige' of the policy department.

Once having entered the department however, the distinction between the attitudes of the two career types becomes less noticeable. The career style of the transfer is not significantly different from that of the typical Finance Officer. He actively seeks upward career movement, stresses competence over inter-personal factors as a means to attaining his career goals, and in general reacts favourably to his environment. Subjectively he identifies himself with a specialist rather than administrative career orientation. And while one expresses an intention to leave the government for private business once he is "fully conversant with government", the other five feel themselves fairly deeply committed to government service, and often to the Finance department in particular, for reasons not unlike those expressed by the bright young man. One F.O. 6, for example, is doubtful whether he will move because "I find the job that I am doing interesting. An F.O. 4 goes further:

Whenever the challenge or interest diminishes and the opportunity for greater personal challenge declines I will leave... I don't know where I will go... There are only two areas that I would consider - either teaching or government service.

However, it should not be claimed that they have become totally integrated into the Department of Finance. Outwardly their career patterns conform, but the spark that

characterizes the typical Finance Officer, and to a large extent the parachutist, is missing. It would be impossible to present concrete illustrations for this hypothesis, but the impression gained from reading the interviews is that the dynamism and enthusiasm conveyed in the reactions of the bright young man is absent from, or is at least limited, in the reactions of the transfer. Less from difference in numbers than from difference in force of personality they seem to be exceptions to the general tone of the department.

French and Other Minorities in Finance

In describing the general career pattern of the Finance Officer no distinction has been made between French and English Canadians. The number of French-Canadian Finance Officers involved (5) is too small to allow any viable comparison, but it can be said generally that the careers of those who fall within the sample show no significant deviation from the over-all pattern. However, their very number poses a major question. It will be useful to examine some possible reasons for the present shortage of French-Canadian personnel within the department, and to assess developments planned for the future.

Problem Areas

Three major areas of examination are immediately suggested: recruitment, language of work, and sponsorship.

(a) Recruitment

The Senior Officers in the Department of Finance willingly admit to the very obvious deficiency of French-Canadian personnel in the Department. The majority attribute this to the extremely low level of recruitment of French Canadians. As one Assistant Deputy Minister explains, the Department "cannot get top English-speaking economists, let alone French." This shortage is aggravated by the reluctance of French economists to come to Ottawa and by the counter-attraction to them of the Quebec government, universities, industries, and so on. On top of this, the makeshift recruitment procedures do little to ameliorate the situation.

A senior official of long experience stated that the problem of recruiting French-speaking Canadians for the Department has existed since the late 1940s. The existence of the problem has been recognized but not enough has been done to solve it. Now it seems as though the department is beginning to act. An Assistant Deputy Minister, says

that having watched the senior people in the Department for some time, he is convinced that "they are honestly trying to get good French Canadians." A Senior Officer echoes his sentiment:

Au ministère des Finances, les supérieurs ont toujours été et sont encore désireux d'avoir des Canadiens français dans le ministère.

Recruitment and development procedures throughout the department are being overhauled, and there is a certain amount of optimism that this reorganization will help towards remedying the problem of the French-English imbalance.

There are, however, a number of factors involved which magnify the problem. The provincial government in particular is more attractive to a French Canadian by reason of its higher salaries and potential by more exciting work. To counter the effects of this opposing pull, Finance realizes that it must approach the French-Canadian universities directly. One Director, himself a French Canadian, feels as well that:

The best chance of attracting people from Quebec lies in keeping track of good French-Canadian students who are studying outside the province. Many of these are more interested in broadening their outlook in Ottawa.

He is encouraged by a recent increase in applications from French Canadians.

A further problem is that following the policy of W.C. Clark Finance has tended to rely heavily for its recruitment upon the 'web of personal contacts' already referred to. When a particular position falls open, a senior officer may have in mind one of several candidates who have the right qualifications for it and who may be interested in it. One F.O. 5, explains the possible implications of this for the French Canadians:

I don't think that objectivity is hurt, because the applicant has still to satisfy the examining board. But then it is an advantage (to someone with contacts) because there may be others who don't know about the vacancy. From the French-Canadian point of view this might be a disadvantage. If there is a lower proportion of French in the senior echelons then the chances that a French Canadian will be thought of are that much less.

An F.O. 2, also, has this to say:

Our department hasn't attracted a good senior French Canadian who has managed to collect other good people around him. Our history stems from Queen's and the impact of Clark and Skelton. Perhaps a French Canadian of this calibre wouldn't come to this department but we should try to find ways to attract them.

Not infrequently, Finance loses French Senior Officers or potential senior officers to Quebec. The defection of one French-Canadian Finance officer in particular is repeatedly regretted. He was working for the Treasury Board until 1961 when Lesage apparently persuaded him that he owed it to his province to return to Quebec where he is now (1965) Deputy Minister of Natural Resources.

The deeper question is raised of course, of whether the Finance department itself has a deterrent effect upon French Canadians. Over and above the problems of recruitment, which are faced in large part by other departments also, it is recognized and regretted within the department that the 'English' image of Finance, and of the Financial community with which it deals, may play an important part in keeping French Canadians from applying. One senior French Canadian refutes this image strongly. He admits that Finance has the reputation as the department which does not hire French Canadians but goes on to say that every time he hears this it irks him, because it is not so. He thinks Finance's reputation is due not so much to the language as to the nature of the work done. The general areas of interest of the Department of Finance are areas which French Canadians have not been interested in and concerned about until recently.

This minority view aside, one cannot help but be impressed with the English-speaking nature of the clientele which the Department of Finance serves. How does this affect the internal workings of the Department in relation to the French Canadians?

(b) Language of work

It is accepted at all levels almost without question that the language of the Finance department is and must be English. The primary reason given is that this is the language of the overwhelming majority of the Department's clientele: Ministers, Cabinet, business and financial communities, and even international organizations. As one Assistant Deputy Minister stated "we use the language of our clients: English." Only a very few within the department use French as their working language and there are no French organization units in the department.

It is recognized by both English and French that this predominance of English as the language of work is potentially a handicap to the French Canadian. One French-speaking Director for example admits that "a French Canadian without a good knowledge of English would find it difficult to work in this Division because of the use of English inter-departmentally and in the international organizations." An F.O. 5 offers a typical English-Canadian reaction:

For reasons which I wouldn't care to make any judgment on, the bulk of officials in the economic side of government have tended to be English-speaking and the working language in this area is English. So the French Canadians have a basic

disadvantage here - even more so if you've taken your basic economic training in French.¹

Few respondents, French or English, go beyond the recognition of the problem. It is accepted that the difficulties of having French as a working language would be too great, and that while the department is not unprepared to hire French Canadians to work in their own language, their usefulness would be limited:

Je ne peux conduire mon travail en français. C'est un travail trop spécialisé. Tous se fait en anglais.

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1. Coupled with the problems of verbal expression in an unfamiliar language it is recognised by at least a few respondents in the Department of Finance that problems of logical expression also exist. Although this may not have been so true in the past, the work in Finance is now based firmly upon modern concepts of scientific methodology. One senior officer recognises the discrepancy between this and the French-Canadian approach, although this is changing: "En général mes contacts avec les fonctionnaires de langue anglaise m'ont fait apprécier en eux leur discipline, leur souci de l'efficacité et leur sens pratique. Ce que peut-être nous n'avions pas toujours au sortir de l'université... Habitué ici à Ottawa à une approche presque exclusivement anglo-saxonne des problèmes... Les contacts que j'ai eus avec des fonctionnaires d'autres pays ont contrebalancé cette influence." An F.O. 5 attempts to explain the problem historically: "There is a basic logical difference and this is reflected partly in the language but also in the way in which we use language. You can't really be bilingual until you have had massive doses of the cultural background of the people whose language you are speaking... The whole concept of the French language is based on the logic of Descartes. English is based on Hume".

A high-level French Canadian is convinced that regardless of the desire to have French Canadians work in their mother tongue, "most departments could not make efficient use of a French Canadian who spoke only French." This is the generally held view.

However, there is some evidence that the Department of Finance would nevertheless be comparatively able to accommodate a French Canadian working in French. Although the total number of French-Canadian Finance Officers is 7 or 8 it is estimated that 15 - 20 non-French-Canadian Officers are bilingual and that up to half can read French. For example, in the Economic Analysis Division almost all of the Officers can get by in French; most Officers in the Tariff Division can read French; everyone in International Economic Relations Division reads French and out of 10 Officers two are fully bilingual and several more part-bilingual. In this latter Division with its international focus, the Director and others foresaw and welcomed greater participation by those of French background. Officers abroad, whose mother tongue is French, are encouraged to send reports and telegrams in French. It should however be noted that the use of French is far more extensive in relation to French-speaking countries outside Canada rather

than to French Canada itself. A significant number of those Officers who are bilingual or part-bilingual use their French almost exclusively for international confrontations with officials from European or African countries.

Some consideration is given in the interviews to the possibility of having a French Canadian use his mother tongue. One Senior Officer offers an interesting and possible significant opinion:

We are probably the most bilingual of all divisions here... One French Canadian from Montreal actually suggested that we have someone to work under him in French... I think that we are near enough to be able to make the move into having French-speaking personnel working in French without too much trouble... We can all read French... It would even be good for us if a French Canadian came along and said that he was going to speak in French.

A number of other Officers offer as a 'solution' to the problems of bilingualism within the Department the concept of functional bilingualism whereby each member works in the language most familiar to him and is understood by the other members:

The effect I hope it (the emphasis on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) has, is of people being able to use their own language without its being translated... In terms of central administration and key people in the government I hope that it will very quickly be the case that people can speak and be understood in their own language.

The majority of the Finance men are willing to give serious thought to increasing the use of French as a working language, but tend ultimately to agree with one Director that they "can't really visualize the department working efficiently in two languages."

(c) Sponsorship

It has already been remarked that there is no formal personnel development programme within the department of Finance. Such career patterns as there are, develop on an ad hoc basis through a system of informal training and, more specifically, of internal sponsorship. Does this system work to the disadvantage of the French Canadians?

Informal training depends to a large extent upon personal contact and communication. For the new entrant to acquire the necessary experience and for his superiors to assess his abilities correctly, there must be successful communication between them. In social relationships, it is difficult to deny that a successful bond is more likely to be developed between persons of similar backgrounds and interests. Contact here is easier and more natural.

To the extent that this 'rule' operates, the implications for ethnic relations are clear. Persons of non-English background have the dissimilarity of interests, and often,

language of communication which would tend to work against successful informal relations. There are very few explicit statements upon this point, but some indications exist that the hypothesis may have some basis in fact. Only one French Canadian within our sample, an F.O. 4 notes the discrepancy of interests between French and English Canadians, but his is a significant view:

Les Canadiens français n'ont pas les mêmes goûts pour les activités, donc ils se rencontrent pas... ces contacts qui sont très importants surtout avec les supérieurs.

Later he goes further:

(On doit) se faire connaître par les gens qui auront à choisir les gens futurs... Mais l'effort du supérieur anglais sera moindre pour connaître l'individu français que l'individu anglais.

One other respondent, falling outside the range of our sample makes a similar point. His opinion cannot be taken as typical but is nevertheless worth quoting in illustration:

Au début... je prenais des repas avec des collègues ou même des supérieurs, mais je me suis vite rendu compte que nous n'avions pas les mêmes préoccupations, les mêmes points d'intérêt.

If personal rapport is not developed as the respondents would seem to suggest, then a large part of the socialization process of the Finance Office and of his

integration into the department is lost. It is probable that the system of sponsorship operating within the Department of Finance has a built-in bias against French Canadians. If this is true then it is almost certainly not the result of conscious discrimination in any but a very few cases. It is rather the unintentional result of the "natural structure" of human relationships in a department where informal training has a special function.¹

There is a further point, not entirely unrelated. If rapport is not established between the French Canadians and their English-Canadian colleagues and superiors, identification with those ideals of the department referred to earlier is more difficult for them. They may not feel themselves caught up in the image of the fast-moving department and are not challenged and excited by it, but, instead, may be disillusioned. This, perhaps, is the significance

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1. A related point, that of the difficulty of an objective evaluation of the French Canadian's ability, is made by this S.O. 1:

"Je dois admettre qu'un Canadien français est handicapé s'il n'a pas la facilité d'expression en anglais. La difficulté est évidente... Tout se fait en anglais. Il ne pourra pas se servir de sa langue à moins qu'il ait un supérieur compréhensif. Alors il ne peut donner son plein rendement et cela peut affecter le jugement qu'on porte sur lui. Et ça peut affecter sérieusement un candidat très brillant".

of the remark by an F.O. 4 that "en théorie" he transferred to Finance for more interesting work. He offers an interesting contrast, for example, to the F.O. 2 who is "still enthusiastic about my move to Finance from University" after two years in the department.

The number of cases is far too small for any conclusions on this point to be reached. No more than a tentative suggestion can be made. However, it is possible that one reason for the lack of French Canadians in the Department of Finance may be that they are unwilling to undergo the sense of alienation and the difficult human relationships that usually are the by-products of taking on a new language and social identity.¹

The Department of Bilingualism and Biculturalism

The previous section discussed some possible causes for present French-Canadian under-representation in the Department of Finance. The all-important question remains

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1. Possible substantiation for this is provided by a paper prepared by the Civil Service Commission Study group: Recruitment in 'Other' Classes. This shows that in the 1963 internal competitions English Canadians dominated the competitions for Finance and Trade and Commerce and also for Northern Affairs and National Resources. The Report then adds that "it must be remembered that most candidates have worked for the Civil Service before and so probably try for departments where they feel working conditions are better for someone of their ethnic group."

however as to how far the department would be prepared to accommodate efforts to counter these. It is with this question that the final section of this report is concerned.

The views of the Finance Officers on the French issue are generally intelligent and sophisticated. An effort is made on every level to see the complexity of the problem and to be objective in any evaluation of it. The result is a diversity of opinions in which it is possible to pinpoint a few recurring themes.

The Finance Department gives every impression of seeing the problems of Bilingualism and Biculturalism as political problems and of considering it "politically necessary" to achieve some resolution. This may be the result of the department's Senior Officers' reading of the political situation in their capacity as policy advisors. An unusually explicit statement on this point comes from a senior man in reply to the question of whether the language difference would affect his future chances for promotion:

Perhaps not strictly the language difference. We have an English Minister and an English A.D.M. and three non-French Directors in our Branch. It is important now that we have a French Canadian - not a French-speaker; the two are quite different problems.

The import of the remark made by one senior official that he would like to have a French Canadian on the staff "as a

matter of principle," is similar, as are the implications of another Director's stating that it would be desirable to have more French Canadians because of the understanding of Quebec that they would bring to the Department. This would, he said, be a great advantage "apart from the general political advantage."

Are the two French-Canadian Directors, for example, regarded as valuable political assets? There is no suggestion that they are figureheads in the sense in which a French Canadian would appear to be in the Department of Agriculture: a titular head with few actual powers.¹ Both are recognised to be extremely able men. But sufficient ambiguity remains in the various reactions to them to raise at least some doubt as to how convenient it was that they should also have been French Canadian. It is possible that their position makes it easy for the department subtly to deny the existence of a French-Canadian problem as far as it is concerned. It becomes possible to point out that all routes are open to all candidates because "two of the Directors are French Canadian". But it is also possible that this may block further thought on the question.

1. Fuller information on this will be found in the chapter on the Agricultural Researcher.

Passing reference was made above to the concept of a French-Canadian contribution to Federal government. A considerable number of Officers take up this point. A Division Director, for example, agrees that:

It is desirable to have French Canadians on the staff... More specifically it would help in working on such things as the ARDA programme in Quebec; a French Canadian might find his way through more easily. Or he might have friends or contacts which would facilitate the work.

An F.O. 6 in the Tariff Division and an Officer in International Economic Relations echo his point:

In another sense a knowledge of Quebec is essential to the Tariff Division, and having someone here with an understanding not so much of the problems but of the local mores perhaps would be valuable.

It would be useful to have someone who knew something about Quebec and who had contacts inside the Quebec government.

However an important distinction is repeatedly made between someone's bringing special knowledge of an area to the department and coming as a representative of that area: "if a civil servant considers himself to be a representative this is not much good." On this point of regional knowledge versus regional representation one Director says in particular that while it is helpful if people have different geographic backgrounds this is not to say that you should hire people for geographic reasons.

He is voicing the recurring concern that exists within the Department that, as one Finance Officer sees it, "the merit system will suffer if it is relaxed in the direction of parity representation". Again this echoes the sentiments of A.F.W. Plumptre who wrote when he was fresh out of the Department that:

It is difficult to imagine anything more divisive, and hence more dangerous, to our public service than a notion that individuals drawn from the various regions should consider themselves as representatives of, i.e. spokesmen for, the public will in those regions... Such a procedure would undermine the authority of the elected representatives and of responsible government itself.¹

Senior officials see the problem as one of putting people who are qualified but who also have the "right name" into senior positions. At first sight this might appear to contradict the apparent acceptance of the political expediency of such measures. But the emphasis is upon the qualifications. Finance wishes to retain its high standards. As long as they are not jeopardized it is willing to make concessions. The concern of the department on this point becomes particularly significant in view of the repeated insistence that there are not many French Canadians qualified in the relevant areas of experience, and that those so qualified are often not able or willing to come to Ottawa.

1. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service", p. 556.

Note that the emphasis is almost exclusively upon the "bicultural" aspects of the French-Canadian situation. Thinking in Finance is focussed upon the problems of the two cultures coexisting and interacting usefully, and especially upon the political considerations implied within this. This is an unusual departure from the orientation of the greater part of the Public Service who view it as a "bilingual" problem. Most civil servants phrase the problem in terms of 'the language requirement' or 'having to speak French in my job'.

In part this is the result of the sophistication of thought of the Finance Officers. But it is also the result of a refusal, or an inability, to consider the French language viable within the structure of the department as it is at present; or to consider very seriously that this structure may change.¹ This largely accounts for the other major qualification evident within Finance's thinking. One Director makes the point adequately:

1. Some suggestions that it might change are made: if for example French-Canadian firms should insist upon using French as their language of business; or if French-Canadian Cabinet members were to press claims to be treated in their own language. But it is difficult for most respondents to envisage any drastic upheaval. The functions of the department and the structure within which it operates are English, and, what is more, as a result of international pressures (predominantly the United States), are becoming increasingly so.

I hope we never get to the position where the speaking of French is forced and artificial. I do not like the terrible waste involved in doing things in two languages just for the sake of two languages.

Support for this view comes from the lower ranks of the Department as expressed by an F.O. 3:

I'm concerned that too much of 'formal' value may be placed on the language, especially in competitions where French has no relation to the job in question. I've seen one like that in Economic Analysis. It is a disadvantage to the efficiency of the Department.

Again the concern is with standards of workmanship.

The emphasis put upon these negative factors may have been misleading. The overall tone of the department is one of sympathy and understanding for the French-Canadian situation. The realities of it, and of it being a 'long hard struggle' are accepted determinedly.¹ It is true to say that at least among the very senior officials there is no evidence whatsoever of open hostility or deliberate discrimination. Among the Finance Officers the predominant feeling is of sympathy: they are significantly more sympathetic than the average civil servant. (Table 12.11).

1. As one instance 70% of Finance Officers are taking French lessons or seriously plan to take them.

TABLE 12.11

GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH FINANCE OFFICER
TOWARDS BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM AND THE
TOTAL ENGLISH SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Sympathetic	Apathetic	Hostile
English Finance Officer (N-23)	100%	56	22	22
English Sub-Elite (N-168)	100%	42	28	30

It is probable in fact that as long as standards are not affected, the Finance Department will prove generally accommodative to any measures that may be taken to remedy the present French-Canadian imbalance. That some respondents are merely reading the political barometer, is inevitable, but a large part of the department's attitude would appear to stem from real concern.

CHAPTER 13

THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCHER: SCIENTIST IN AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The purpose of this chapter is to outline briefly the career patterns, attitudes, and perspectives of the research scientist in the Department of Agriculture.

The chapter will first discuss the working context of the research scientist in terms of a short profile of the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture, its organization, and function. This will be followed by a lengthy discussion of the research scientist within this work setting.

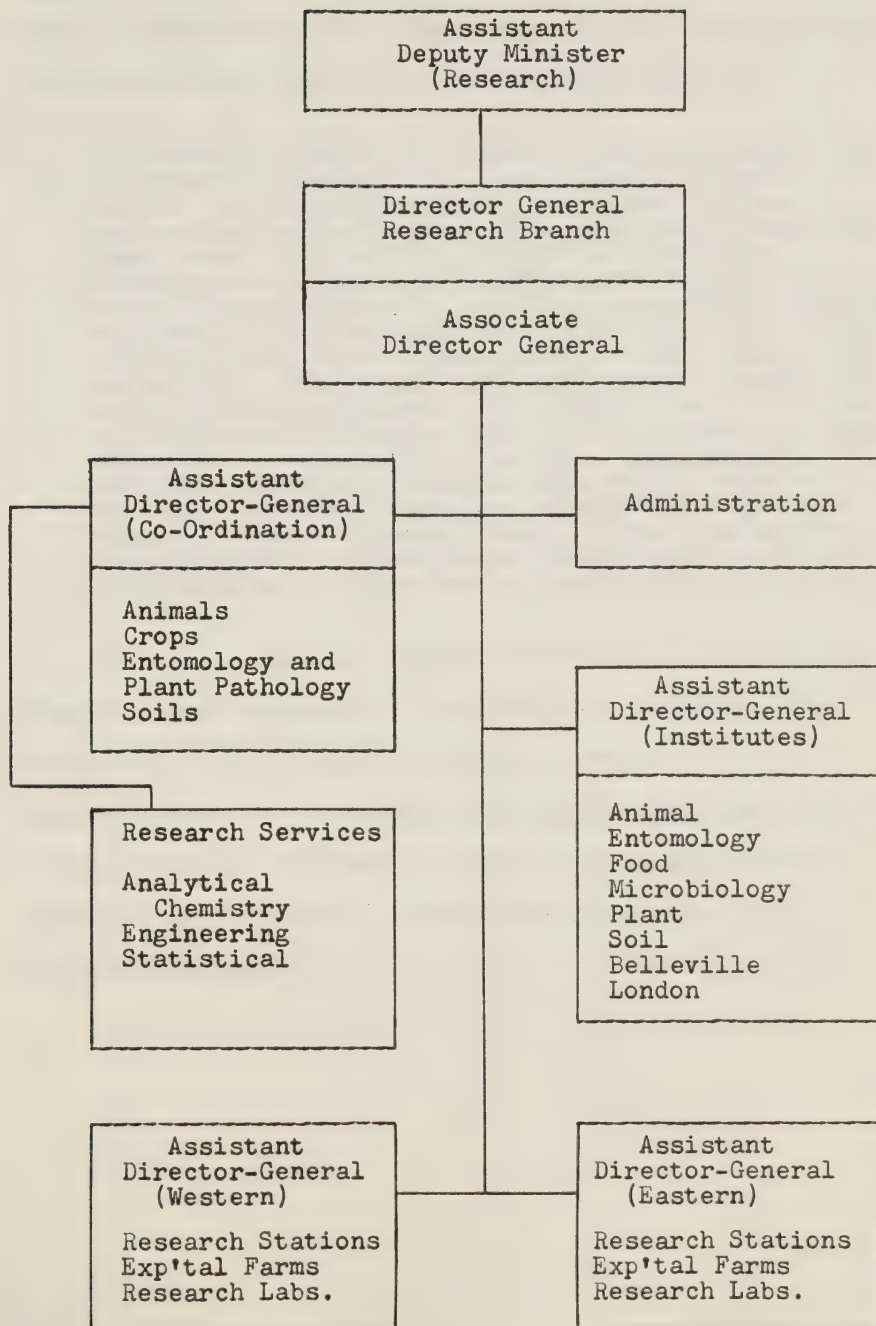
Research Structure and Personnel

In virtually no other Government Department is there such a high concentration of scientific experts doing basic research. The Annual Report of the department estimates that approximately one-fifth of the total staff of the Department is trained in the sciences of agriculture and related fields. By far the largest and perhaps the most significant number of these specialists is found among the research scientists in the Research Branch, with a total establishment of about 3800. (see Diagram I).

THE RESEARCH STRUCTURE

Diagram 1

From: The Annual
Report of the Canada
Department of
Agriculture 1964-65.



The Research Branch was formed in 1959, by bringing together the staffs of the Experimental Farm Service, and the Science Service. The Annual Report outlines the organization and function of the Research Branch:

The Research Branch has establishments in localities representing the main soil and climatic areas of Canada. It conducts a broad programme of research and problems selected for their regional or national importance. The staffs co-operate with their counterparts in universities and provincial departments of agriculture in providing research information required to aid Canadian farmers in producing maximum yields of high-quality products for home consumption and export. The Branch has nine research institutes, seven of them in Ottawa. They supply basic information to field establishments, and study selected problems common to a large part of Canada. The research stations, farms and laboratories, which comprise the field establishments are situated in major agricultural areas of Canada. Many of the findings at these centres are used in provincial and regional organizations in preparing guides to Agriculture.

Dr. J.A. Anderson, Director General of the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture, estimates that seventy per cent of all agricultural research done in Canada is done by the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture. The rest is done by universities and provincial governments. These three communities work in close collaboration.

The Research Branch, more specifically, carries out research in the four broad areas of soils, crops, animals, and crops protection. Soil surveys examine the types of soils which have developed in various areas, and determine their fertility and the type of management required to give maximum efficiency in food production. Crop research is intended to investigate the qualitative and quantitative improvement of Canadian crops. The emphasis in animal research is placed on the production and selection of animals which are efficient in converting livestock feeds into high quality human food, and on feeding and managing them economically so that their production is maintained at the highest possible level.¹ The crop protection programme is aimed at improving the efficiency and stability of agricultural production by seeking immediate, empirical solutions to individual pest problems and by developing the knowledge needed for more lasting solutions.²

There are other research personnel scattered throughout other Branches and Divisions of the Department as well. In the Economics Division, a staff of professional economists provides research and advisory services for Departmental policies and programmes, and conducts research leading to

1. Annual Report.

2. Ibid.

more efficient agricultural production and marketing, and improvement of farm living conditions. In the Plant Products Division of the Production and Marketing Branch, a research staff maintains laboratories which provide certain analytical services to the Branch on products sampled by the inspectors. In the Health of Animals Branch, minor research is carried on in the Contagious Diseases and Meat Inspection Divisions, and a major contribution is made by the laboratories of the Animal Pathology Division. Here research is conducted on diseases capable of causing significant losses of livestock, and on the development and improvement of tests for disease detection.

The Personnel employed in research in the Department of Agriculture are regularly classed as Research Officers, Veterinarians, Economists and Technical Officers. The one outstanding fact about this group of personnel is the high average level of education. Of the researchers in the Department, approximately fifty per cent have Ph.D's.

The Research Officers comprise the main body of research personnel. Designation as a Research Officer is based on the criteria of educational level and scientific reputation. These are the men who carry out the bulk of the Department's research.

Working in the same milieu as the professional scientists, is a large number of Technical Officers, carrying out scientific research under the direct supervision of the Research Officers. While the Research Officer can in most cases claim a Ph.D., the Technical Officer tends for the most part to have only a high school education, though in a few cases, he may have undergraduate university education. But he may aspire to the position of Research Officer, and does sometimes reach that classification. Technical Officers carry out lab tests under the direction of the Research Officer, or, in some cases, direct their own specialized labs for carrying out these tests.

The Promotion System

On the first of October, 1965, new classes of Research Scientist 1-2, and Principal Research Scientist were introduced to replace the old Research Officer classifications.

Under the new classifications, it was decided that recognition should be given to the status of the individual scientist, and should therefore be based largely on evaluation by competent scientists of the scientific contribution of the individual. Salary progression would be related

closely to the individual's demonstrated performance as a research scientist. In the administration of the new classification, the most important role would be played by an appraisal committee who would evaluate the individual's contribution. The appraisal committees would review at regular intervals the performance of all scientists within their jurisdiction to make recommendations on in-grade salary increments and promotions. All promotions into the highest grade of the new system would be reviewed by a senior appraisal committee composed of scientists, and including among its members at least two distinguished scientists from outside the ranks of the Civil Service.

The committee is instructed to assess individual scientists on the basis of scientific performance as evidenced by:

- (1) the quality and quantity of publications
and appropriate products of personal research.
- (2) scientific reputation and contacts.
- (3) scientific consultation and advisory activity,
and/or the direction of research.

The new classes, Research Scientist 1-3 and Principal Research Scientist, together make four stages in a career. The aim of the work in this career is the extension of existing scientific knowledge or the production of novel or original scientific processes. The career path is reserved for those persons performing professionally responsible research, either independently, as a supervisor or research team leader, or, in some cases, as a director of a major segment of the organization devoted to research. The Department of Agriculture is now in the process of applying this new classification and is moving all of its research staff into this career pattern.

It seems worthwhile to look for a moment at an example of the terms of reference for promotion as they now stand. For a Research Scientist 2, the grade controlling factors are:

- (1) Productivity - authorship or equal co-authorship of a substantial number of scientific papers of good quality, which show evidence of maturity and soundness of research; or authorship of a smaller number of scientific papers of exceptional quality showing evidence of unusual originality and insight; or tangible evidence of mature research productivity of other appropriate types.

- (2) Contacts - wide acquaintance or correspondence among experts in appropriate fields would normally be expected; membership and sometimes holding office in professional societies would be normal.
- (3) Status - a fully qualified and mature scientist, or an exceptionally accomplished young scientist, such as would hold the rank of Associate Professor in a recognized university; an expert of national and usually international reputation in his field.

The Interviewed Sample

From the French and English interviews in the Department those persons were selected who engaged in activities that fell within the definitions of research used by the United Nations:

- (a) Basic Research is analysis, exploration, or experimentation directed to the extension of knowledge of the general principles governing natural and social phenomena.

- (b) Applied Research is the extension of basic research to the determination of generally accepted processes with a view to specific application generally involving the devising of specified products, processes, techniques, or devices.
- (c) Developmental Research is the adaptation of research to experimental demonstration or for clinical purposes, including experimental production and testing of models, devices, equipment, materials, procedures, and processes.

Under these definitions forty-six research scientists were identified in our study. Thirty of the research scientists were English, sixteen French.

Thirty of the research scientists in the group are classified by the Civil Service Commission as Research Officers or, under the new classification now being brought into effect, Research Scientists. Of these, eighteen were English, twelve French. In addition, three Economists, two Research Directors, and one Chemist were included in the research scientist sample.¹ The total group of forty-six also contained ten Technical Officers whose work was

1. In describing these individuals for table purposes, they will all be classed as "Research Officers", a total of 36 cases.

considered to closely approximate that of the professional research scientists.¹ It was from the interviews with these forty-six research scientists in the Department of Agriculture that the largest body of information for this study was drawn.

In the discussion immediately following no distinction is drawn between French and English respondents. Any statistical results presented are "weighted" so that the English sample, which represents a much larger number of persons than the French, is given extra weight.

Social Background of the Researchers

a) Early Milieu

There appears to be a high degree of consistency in the backgrounds of the research scientists in the Department of Agriculture. Understandably, there is great variation in individual cases. For example, certain of the sample come from large cities; others come from small towns or farming communities. The research scientist comes from anywhere across Canada, and often enters the

1. When all 46 persons are included in a table, they are referred to as "Research Scientists".

Department from other countries: Britain, Hungary, or Pakistan, for example.¹ The occupation of the head of the family in which the researcher grew up may range from skilled surgeon to semi-skilled tradesman or farm labourer. The salary of the head of the researcher's family may range from twelve hundred dollars up, his education from some primary school to a doctorate.

Nevertheless, there are clearly definable threads of coincidence in the backgrounds of research scientists made clear by the statistical evidence. From the data, it is possible to construct a reliable picture of the activities of the research scientist before he enters the Department of Agriculture.

While it is apparent that the research scientist is drawn from almost every rank and social class in Canada, one fact does stand out: a significant proportion of the research scientists in the Department of Agriculture has, at some crucial period, lived or worked on a farm (see Table 13.1). About 23% of the researchers come from farm backgrounds as compared with 15% of the Civil Service sub-elite. Further, the research scientists in the group who come from areas of population density of less than 50,000

1. The Research staff in the Department of Agriculture contains a higher than average proportion of "other ethnics" than most other Departments.

TABLE 13.1

CLASS ORIGINS OF THE RESEARCH OFFICERS
TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Upper and Middle	Working	Farm
Research Officers (N-36)	100%	47.7	30.5	22.2
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	55.1	31.8	15.2

TABLE 13.2

SIZE OF PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE RESEARCH
OFFICERS AND TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Over 50,000	Under 50,000	Not determined
Research Officers (N-36)	100%	44.4	47.2	8.2
Total Sub-Elite	100%	60.5	35.5	4.0

make up 47% of the total group of research scientists, while the proportion for the Civil Service sub-elite coming from this type of area is 35.5% (see Table 13.2). It should be noted as well that these two tables do not tell the whole story. A glance through the interviews shows that to these proportions must be added those who spent the summers working on a farm or living with relatives on a farm. These numbers swell the above proportions considerably.

Although it is difficult to define any positive correlation, there appears to be some connection between the incidence of farm experience and the entry into the field of agriculture because of the appeal of the work itself, not for any monetary benefits or security derived from it. This connection will be discussed under Occupational Choice. The suggestion of a correlation of these two dimensions may be, however, only a sophistication of the simple idea that usually one enters an occupational field in which one has had some kind of previous experience.

b) Education

It has been noted previously that of the nine hundred Research Officers in the Research Branch of the Department of Agriculture, about fifty per cent have Ph.D.'s. This average is slightly higher among the senior persons located in the Ottawa Region with whom we are dealing. Those Research Officers in the sample under discussion who do not have a postgraduate degree number only four (11%). (See Table 13.3). While not all of the rest have Ph.D.'s, the other Research Officers have D.M.V.'s, (Veterinary Medicine), M. Sc.'s, and B. Sc.'s. These advanced degrees are taken almost entirely in the field of agriculture, with specialization in one major field of interest such as horticulture, apiculture, entomology, or soils. (See Table 13.4).

TABLE 13.3

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE RESEARCH SCIENTIST
AND TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

		TOTAL	No Degree	Under- Graduate Degree	Post- Graduate Degree
Research Officer	F	100% (N=13)	0.0	0.0	100.0
	E	100% (N=23)	0.0	17.4	82.6
Technical Officer	F	100% (N=3)	100.0	0.0	0.0
	E	100% (N=7)	71.4	28.6	0.0
Total Sub-Elite	F	100% (N=128)	35.9	36.7	27.3
	E	100% (N=168)	28.0	41.7	30.3

TABLE 13.4

EDUCATION SPECIALIZATION OF THE RESEARCH
AND TECHNICAL OFFICERS (IN PER CENT)

	<u>RESEARCH OFFICER</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
1.	Economics	2.8
2.	Biological Sciences	36.1
3.	Physical Sciences	19.4
4.	Mathematics - Statistics	5.6
5.	Agriculture	19.4
6.	Medical	11.1
7.	Commerce	5.6
		(N=36)

	<u>TECHNICAL OFFICER</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
1.	General Arts	10
2.	General Science	20
3.	Agriculture	10
4.	Technical Diploma	20
5.	No Degree	40
		(N=10)

Among the Technical Officers of the group a Bachelor's degree is common, although in some cases the Technical Officer will make do with only Senior Matriculation, supplemented by some night or extension courses in his special field of work.

It seems that the research scientist is not one of the more active individuals during his college years. Athletics is often the total extent of his extra-curricular effort in this period. Most of his time appears to be spent working in the university lab, or with his books. This tendency seems to manifest itself in relatively high marks during his years of formal education.

c) Summer jobs

Like any other indigent student, the research scientist is forced to earn money in the summer, often taking what is available or what will bring in the most money. What is interesting to note here, however, is the high proportion of research scientists who do hold summer jobs related to their present positions, interests, or skills. Of the 46 research scientists in the sample, sixteen worked for the Federal Department of Agriculture at various stations throughout the country; seven laboured on farms for part

of their working summers; and another fourteen worked in related settings: in university laboratories, Federal Government departments, and large corporations. Only ten of the sample held no related positions in the summer. Of these ten, five are Technical Officers.

The high proportion of research scientists previously employed by the Department of Agriculture has tremendous implications for recruitment into the Department. This factor will be discussed later in the study.

d) Occupational Choice

We now come to the more difficult problem of assessing the reasons for the occupational choice of the research scientists. It seems that the research scientist commonly enters the field because he has an intense interest in nature or farm life. The most broad suggestion of this was made by a thirty-four year old Research Officer II:

I had a clear idea of what I wanted to do from childhood on. I was born on a farm, and wanted to do something connected with it.

An RO IV of forty-three phrased it more poetically:

I was nature oriented. ...I didn't want the humdrum of farm life, but I did want this close tie with nature.

There is also a strong indication that this sentiment is not lacking among the Technical Officers:

Entymology is something you go into because it is a hobby.

The research scientist is often directed toward the field of agriculture by a teacher or a parent who is in the same field. Thus a childhood hobby or interest, often nurtured by an adult, becomes a full-time occupation. The ten year old bug collector becomes an internationally renowned entomologist.

There are naturally deviations from this general pattern which appear to have strong, though not overriding, importance in motivating the research scientist toward the field of agriculture. One important factor which should be mentioned here is the fact that a B. Sc. in Agriculture is often cheaper than other related courses, like Medicine. In some cases, the degree in Agriculture is free, such as the one which is offered by the school at St. Hyacinthe, P.Q.

During or soon after he has finished his basic education, the student of agriculture confronts positive attractions towards pure research, as well as equally strong negative "pushes" away from other fields. The strongest positive motivation is the desire to do research for research's sake. This interest is often discovered in the last year of undergraduate work, and thus acts to motivate the research scientist to undertake graduate work in his specialized field. One Hungarian RO IV stated:

The only thing I planned and still plan to do, is good quality research.

There are few explicit statements such as this one in the data available, but this motivational factor is strongly indicated by the fact that the main reason for joining the Department of Agriculture given by many of the research scientists is that it is the only place in Canada which offers research opportunities with broad scope and freedom.¹

The negative factor might also be denoted the "elimination method" of occupational choice. For a person who has done undergraduate or graduate work in a specialized field of agriculture there are only a few

1. See Table 13.6.

areas of work open. He can teach at universities like Laval, the University of Guelph, or University of British Columbia; he can work for an industrial concern in applied research; or he can do basic research, in which there are few positions available, and which is largely carried on by the Department of Agriculture. For various reasons the agricultural graduate often rejects the first two choices open to him:

I wanted an opportunity to work in a research organization without being burdened by teaching and extensive duties of this sort.

At some time we all have to make the choice between industry and research. They (industry) talked only of money and not the job. To that extent, it wasn't a better opportunity.

Dans l'industrie, on ne fait pas ce qui nous intéresse.

One common attitude towards industry was stated as follows by an RO II of forty-three:

I felt like doing something more than being responsible for producing something.

He was seconded by an RO III of thirty-three:

I have been biased against industry because of the necessity of pushing products.

In this case, the research scientist makes a conscious choice between two or three possibilities, and, either because he likes the type of work involved in research or because he does not like the pressures, demands, or characteristics of the other possibilities in agriculture, or for both reasons, he selects research.

e) Previous Work History

The research scientist spends relatively little time in jobs outside the Civil Service. For the Research Officers in our sample the average number of years spent working after graduation and before entering the Civil Service is 3.4 years.¹ Furthermore, twenty-six out of the forty-six officers in the sample have held no job, or only one job before entering the Civil Service. This factor - the relatively low incidence of previous work history before entering the Civil Service is apparently easily explained, as it was by an RO II of thirty-four:

There is no other organization in Canada doing food research to the extent of this Institute. If there was a large company doing this type of work, I would go with them.

1. This average is much lower for the French Research Scientists, a great proportion of which enter the Department directly on completion of education (84.6% vs. total Sub-elite percentage of 27.0%).

An RO III of forty-five expressed it thus:

There is very limited opportunity in my field.
... I could not have done it elsewhere.

and an RS of thirty-five commented:

A cause de ma spécialité, je me devais pratiquement de travailler sur une ferme expérimentale. Dans l'industrie, il y a moins de possibilités.

However, while most research scientists enter the Department of Agriculture immediately upon graduation, and many have had little or no working experience before entering the Civil Service, there is another group which is apparently quite restless. The research scientists in this group enter the department only after a period of a few years and several jobs. But there is a suggestion that this movement is indicative only of the dissatisfaction evinced by many research scientists with research opportunities outside the Civil Service. The scientist in this group moves from job to job before joining the Department of Agriculture, but it is apparent that once in the Civil Service, he settles down into this organization. The average length of service of the research scientist in the Civil Service is relatively high (about 10 years). And it must be kept in mind that the research scientist begins his working career later than the average Civil Servant because of higher education.

To sum up, it might be said that the majority of the research scientists in the Department of Agriculture have had little experience outside the Department, primarily because of the lack of real opportunities in research outside the Civil Service. Those research scientists who have tasted life outside the Civil Service, try out a number of posts in quick succession, then join the Public Service to rid themselves of unwanted pressures, and the responsibilities of applied research or teaching. This is not, however, to imply that this step into the Civil Service is a retreat from reality in any way. It is a positive entrance into the type of job which is most satisfying to the research scientist.

Reasons for Joining the Civil Service

The Department of Agriculture has apparently evolved a highly efficient system of sponsorship in the recruitment of scientific personnel in the Department (see Table 13.5). Sixty-two per cent of the research scientists in our sample are drawn into the Department of Agriculture either through their previous contacts with the Department in summer jobs or through personal contact with senior personnel. Another 7% come into the Department of Agriculture for analogous positions in the Departments of Agriculture in other

countries which have put them in contact with personnel in the Canadian Department of Agriculture. These particular mechanisms thus are used to draw valuable research personnel into the Department.

TABLE 13.5

MECHANISMS FOR ENTERING THE DEPARTMENT OF THE RESEARCH SCIENTIST AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Contacts*	Previous Analogous Experience	Other or non-classifiable
Research Scientist (N=46)	100%	62.2	7.2	30.6
Total Sub-Elite (N=296)	100%	22.0	2.0	76.0

* The individuals in this category entered the Department by either:

- a) sponsorship or contacts - the individual is recommended for a job by someone inside the Department, or is nominated by an outsider who has some influence on whether or not the individual gets the job.

OR

- b) summer work - the individual has worked in the Department for a summer, liked the work, and decided that he would like to make it a full-time proposition.

OR

- c) both of the above.

The research scientist, because he is highly educated, is apparently more often than not, drawn to a position by what sociologist Dwaine Marvick¹ terms "task factors", rather than "benefit factors". Marvick demonstrates a connection between the "task orientation" and specialist work, while "benefit factors" are more important to the "institutionalists" or "organizationalists" who identify with the affairs of the organization.

The data definitely support Marvick by showing that the research scientist is drawn to the Civil Service for the jobs which it can offer, and not for the organizational benefits which may accrue. The latter, although important, are still secondary considerations to the research scientist. Of the sample of forty-six, 53% said that they joined the Civil Service because it offered unique occupational opportunities (see Table 13.6). Another 14% which might be added to this group, said that the Civil Service offered the only job available at the time they sought employment. This could be attributed to the vicissitudes of trying to find a job in a small, highly specialized field.²

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1. Dwaine Marvick, Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954.
 2. It must be kept in mind that for many research scientists, there can be little distinction between the job and the organization and its benefits, because of the uniqueness of the job. For further discussion of the implications of this point, see Career Orientation.

TABLE 13.6

REASONS FOR JOINING THE CIVIL SERVICE
(IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Civil Service Offers Unique Occupational Opportunities	Only Job Available	Other
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	53.0	13.7	33.3
Total Sub- Elite (N-296)	100%	17.9	11.1	71.0

TABLE 13.7

COMMITMENT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE OF THE RESEARCH
SCIENTIST AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Committed	Uncommitted	Undecided or Other
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	63.0	17.4	19.6
Total Sub- Elite (N-296)	100%	66.6	14.5	17.9

Underlying the idea of the unique occupational opportunities which draw the research scientist into the public service, is the freedom and autonomy apparently enjoyed by the researchers, the ability to specialize to a high degree in basic research, and the enjoyment of certain facilities that are usually hard to get and maintain. As one scientist states:

For the Civil Service itself, I don't care for it one way or the other. I came here because of the research facilities and the salary. The security, I don't need. With a Ph.D., and experience I could get a job anywhere.

An RS I of forty-four expressed similar thoughts:

Je n'ai aucun sentiment envers le gouvernement fédéral; c'est pas que j'aime ça ici, la Fonction publique. Mais c'est que je peux y faire de la recherche fondamentale.

Another research scientist, an RO II, phrased it thus:

It was a position that I liked. It was tree and root stocks - this was always interesting to me because I had worked in orchards from the time that I was able to drag a ladder... It wasn't much money, but that didn't matter. I've always been like that: it is the job that is important, and not the money.

These statements suggest explicitly the separation of task from benefits factors and implies that the concern of the scientist is usually with the former, when he joins the Department of Agriculture.

Civil Service Career

(a) Career Orientation

Once in the public service, does the research scientist maintain this emphasis on the job, or does he become aware of the benefits which might accrue from belonging to an organization and having a relatively stable job?

As indicated in the Introduction, the "specialist," contrasted with "institutionalist," is more likely to see his career unfolding in a specialized skill, to stress task-oriented factors, and to demand that tasks be suited to personal skills. A "specialist" is content bound, rather than place bound. His major interest is the job, not the organization. In addition, specialists are also likely to be "cosmopolitans," oriented toward seeking status within their professional group, and therefore likely to be low on loyalty to the employing organization.

In attempting to define the career orientation of the research scientist in the Department of Agriculture using this conception, it is immediately apparent that these scientists do not fit the model. The technical and research respondents, while apparently primarily concerned with the work and not tending to identify with the organization to a great extent, are yet "local oriented" in the sense that in their particular field there are few other employers who offer parallel advantages in terms of salary, facilities, opportunity for research, and recognition in Canada. Therefore, while not specifically identifying with the organization and its goals, for the most part at least, the research scientists must perforce work within this framework. This is manifested in the enthusiasm and gratitude displayed by many of the research scientists towards the employer, the Department of Agriculture.

Thus, while the research scientist strongly identifies with specialized role skills, and certainly uses outer reference groups,¹ there is an extremely high commitment to the organization per se for what it can offer in the support and promotion of the professional role. One RS II of thirty-one stated the case thus:

1. See Below. Career Style.

Pour le travail qui m'intéressait, les probabilités sont bien limitées... J'y tiens tout à fait, et je suis resté ici. C'est un des endroits de travail idéal.

The apparent contradiction between affirming both a "specialist" and a "local orientation" is evident in the following two statements. When asked how committed she was to the Civil Service at the moment, an RS III replied:

I wouldn't feel committed if I found anything more interesting but I think this is unlikely. The possibilities are industry or teaching: I'm not really interested in either. Any move would be to another government department. The question of whether it is the Civil Service or not, is not applicable. The question of the work area is.

The same question put to a Research Director II elicited this response:

I am fully committed... The opportunities outside are limited. I've no real interest in either industry or university teaching.

Apparently then, as far as the career orientation of the research scientist is concerned, it is possible to say that while he appears to place the major emphasis on the content of his work, he is still basically loyal to the organization itself. This is brought out by the fact that 63% of the researchers state that they are "committed" to a career in Civil Service (see Table 13.7).

On the other hand, many do suggest that there could be career possibilities in other areas such as teaching and industry. There appears, however, on a careful reading of the interviews, to be an undercurrent implicit in the responses which largely confirms that there is little wavering sentiment present on the part of the research scientist concerning his commitment to the Civil Service. A majority are fully committed to the organization, and claim that there is for the most part no appropriate work setting for them elsewhere¹.

There is yet another dimension which must be discussed in regard to career orientation. Usually a "specialist" would look forward to years of work in non-administrative positions. However, a person with a technical orientation may see his career unfolding within a particular organization and often leading on to administrative duties. By the same token, someone with a managerial orientation does not automatically take over an institutionalist point of view in which he identifies with the organization and its goal,

1. This is borne out particularly by the statistics on "Reason for Joining the Civil Service" (See Table 13.6). Two-thirds of the scientists join the Civil Service either because it offers unique occupational opportunities or it was the only job available.

uses the organization as the principal frame of reference for his career, and feels that he will remain in the organization. In short, a technical specialist may aspire either to a "place-bound," institutional career or to a career which is not defined in terms of administrative posts within a particular organization. This conclusion appears to be justified by the findings which follow.

It appears that the research scientist in the Department of Agriculture does tend to stress the technical rather than the managerial skills. This may be only natural, as it is in this area that the greater part of his training and experience lies. This tendency was expressed in two ways through the interview. Firstly, when asked to define the primary skills he employed in this job, the research scientist emphasizes above all the technical skills: "technical and scientific knowledge" or "technical competence". Secondly, when asked to define his future progress, the research scientist generally tends to make the distinction between research and administrative possibilities very explicit. And most often the research scientist states firmly his desire to remain in research, and to avoid administration if possible. One RS III, who at one time was approached to take an administrative position, says that she avoided it:

I like the work I'm doing now, even enough to stay here rather than going into administration. The salary is not that important.

And RO II of thirty-seven with no apparent aspiration for an administrative position put it thus:

In research you don't have to reach a certain level, and then need to continue on a new level for it to be interesting. You are always doing something interesting.

Or very simply, as a TO V of forty put it:

I would move into an administrative position, but I prefer to be in a technical one.

Or again, and RS I of thirty-five stated:

Ce qui me regarde, c'est mes recherches... Si j'étais directeur, obligé de mettre trop de temps à l'administration, pas assez à ma recherche...

But it must be noted that it is not possible to suggest a pure dedication to technical knowledge and competence, although this does seem in most cases to have a greater emphasis. On the other hand, a surprising number make either tenuous or overt suggestions that they might be interested in greater managerial-administrative duties. It should be stressed, however, that when many of these scientists speak of administration, it is administration

of a special sort. The model administrator in their eyes is the senior scientist who supervises and stimulates a "team" that works under him.

I would like to get into an administrative post eventually, but I want to postpone it for another ten years.

Eventually, I hope to get into administration, to get a responsible directive position. But this is later. At present I want to have some fun doing research.

Others of the research scientists were actually enthusiastic about administrative functions. One RO II with some supervisory experience said:

I like supervisory work though. It's fun dealing with people.

Another, one of the few women in the sample, now at TO IV level, stated:

If I stay in the government, I want to get into administration positions and more responsibility. I should be given more responsibility and more money with my experience and background.

Further, when the research scientist is asked about the skills required for his job, he mentions as a close second to technical competence the ability to get along well with other people, the ability to plan and organize, to direct a programme, the "ability to assess people." These skills

are surely thought to be more concomitant with managerial rather than strictly technical orientations. One RS II went so far as to say:

If they don't have administrative skills, they won't go far.

This fact appears to have certain implications for the study of these scientists as part of a bureaucratic organization and there are two particular points concerning the situation which should be made at this point. The first is an apparent lack of real tension between the administrative branches and the scientists working in the Research Branch. Criticism of the administrators by the research scientist appears quite rarely in the interviews and indeed is found almost solely where the topic of ethnicity or bilingualism is being considered.

Secondly, and apparently closely related to the point made above in terms of causality, is the fact that the Department of Agriculture appears to have evolved a satisfactory ranking system which tends to reduce conflict between the scientist and the administrator. To begin with, the administrative branches work separately from the research branches for the most part. The research group does research and develops methods to assist the administrative group; the administrative group interprets the research to the public. Neither group interacts to any great extent with the other.

There are naturally administrators connected to the Research Branch, in the person of Personnel and Administrative Officers. But for the most part, the research scientist appears to be personally affected to any extent only by his Research Director. The Research Director is usually drawn from the ranks of the research scientists and still is as greatly concerned with basic research as with administrative details. Thus a system is evolved with a Research Director at the top, administering the research scientists. And it is important to note here in examining the organizational structure that it appears that the research scientist in his own milieu is of equal importance and prestige to his administrative counterparts in the Department:

There are really only two alternatives - you can pursue the scientific aspects or you can gradually work into administration... Now you don't have to be in administration for higher pay... There may often be an administrator who is paid less than you are.

This is from a TO V of forty years. His statement is supported by another from an RO II of thirty-one:

At the present time, you can go nearly as far in research as you can in administration.

In this respect then, in this Department, certain factors tending generally to produce dissatisfaction among professional employees have been reduced. The prestige of the Research Scientist is not inferior to that of the administrative employee. Also, the availability of the post of Research Director provides an outlet for those with administrative ambitions who do not want to move out of the research field.

b) Career Style

From the point of view of career style, how does the research scientist approach his career? The career style dimensions defined by Schein and his associates¹ can be applied effectively to this study.

Movement - Non-Movement

From the point of view of promotion through the ranks of the Civil Service, the research scientist appears generally to desire promotion, but does not tend to seek it out aggressively or consciously. Transfer to other departments or through various branches of the department is to a large extent impossible for reasons discussed earlier.

1. Schein et al, "Career Orientations".

Responsibility is for the most part welcomed because this is generally concomitant with influence. And influence is the most desirable goal as far as the research scientist is concerned. Influence here does not imply power, but rather fame, reputation, and the resultant discipleship. This desire for influence is expressed very explicitly in several ways:

To become an RS III or RS IV requires international recognition, and my new projects are progressing well, so that I have good chances to get this recognition and hence to move into top research positions.

I see at least two more promotions in the RS classification. I expect to increase my publications by a good bit now with my experience behind me. I shall acquire more status at the international level.

A respondent self-designated as "avant tout un scientifique", stated:

Ici, j'essaie d'établir des contacts avec le monde international, les congrès internationaux. J'envisage une renommée internationale, publier dans les revues.

These are, admittedly, strong expressions of the ultimate goal of the research scientist. However, less grandiose statements generally seem to reinforce the idea that the research scientist is a "mover," and is not content to rest in one rank or one job for too long:

My plan is to continue on the administrative side of research... I hope this will lead fairly high.

I would hope to become at least a section head in my work.

To summarize, it is not possible to assume that the research scientist is any less interested in or ambitious for increase in responsibility and influence than other career types. The difference lies only in the fact that the research scientist is more concerned with increases in the task content of his work; he tends to minimize the importance of increases in such marginal benefits as salary and security:

People can't express progress in any other way except in terms of money or title. In research though, a title doesn't mean a thing. My ambition is to do the best quality research possible. The title or money doesn't make that much difference.

The research scientist is very aware of the criteria of promotion, and actively seeks them out.

Active - Passive

A problem arises in attempting to define the attitude of the research scientist in this case. For the research scientist, as we have seen, promotion through the ranks of the Department of Agriculture is largely based on reputation and fame with reference to the scientific community at large. Those who reach the top positions in the Civil Service ranks are those who have created international prestige for themselves, and then are promoted by the employing organization. Thus, in the case of the research scientist, one does not need to manipulate the "surrounding environment." Rather one is active within the outside reference group, and then passively awaits promotion in the organization itself, which generally appears to be forthcoming. A simple statement of this fact was made by one RO III:

In the research field, the top scientists and the top Civil Servants are the same thing.

This activist attitude with regard to the scientific community appears to be deeply rooted. The most obvious manifestations of this attitude is the "publish or perish syndrome." Seven out of ten research scientists publish,

or assist in the publication of, at least one article per year (see Table 13.8). The importance of publishing is stated most succinctly by an RO II who just recently joined the Department:

As far as getting ahead in the research field though, its a case of "publish or perish."

TABLE 13.8

NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PAST YEAR BY THE RESEARCHERS AND THE TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One-Two	Three or More
Research Officer (N-36)	100%	25.7	43.1	31.2
Technical Officer (N-10)	100%	41.4	34.3	24.3
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	29.1	41.2	29.7
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	73.3	17.9	8.8

We're required to turn out some worthwhile publication in a year. It must be of sufficient quantity and quality. It is on this that we advance.

The research scientist also continually emphasizes the importance of scientific societies in getting ahead in the Civil Service (see Table 13.9). The Scientific organizations allow the research scientist to publish, and keep him abreast of the top men and new ideas in his own field. Conferences play a similar role (see Table 13.10). One RO III stated the importance of this type of activity as follows:

If you are active in professional societies and become better known, this helps in advancement.

His statement is supported by another RO III:

Il faut détenir des positions exécutives dans les sociétés professionnelles: ça compte beaucoup sur les promotions.

Paradoxically perhaps, this flurry of activity in the international scientific community is paralleled by a relatively passive attitude toward the immediate environment. The research scientist believes that his activity in the scientific community as a whole is enough to ensure the promotion he desires within the Civil Service. Hard work is emphasized, and this, the research scientist seems to believe, is the main criterion for getting ahead, as long as one has the international recognition discussed above:

Much of my success depends on my ability to develop highly structured working methods and my ability to adhere to them.

TABLE 13.9

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN PROFESSIONAL OR
SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE RESEARCH
SCIENTISTS AND TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One-Two	Three or More
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	8.9	29.6	61.5
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	22.0	47.0	31.1

TABLE 13.10

NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL OR SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES
ATTENDED IN THE PAST YEAR BY THE RESEARCH
SCIENTISTS AND TOTAL SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One-Two	Three or More
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	28.0	45.5	26.5
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	58.8	36.5	4.7

This remark by a TO IV, was seconded by a TO V, and an RO II:

A high level of performance is the main thing in getting to the top.

A man who keeps his nose clean, and works like hell - publishes - will get to the top as quickly as a man with connections.

The research scientist has implicit faith that technical competence, if accompanied by a modicum of personal affability, will be rewarded. But he does recognize at the same time that he must prove himself in the larger external reference group before recognition comes within the organization itself. This faith in the Civil Service recognition of proven ability is represented in the following remarks of an RS II who stressed the importance of a reputation for getting ahead in the Civil Service.

I've never really stopped to think about my progress in the Civil Service.... Things happen to me.... Moves happen and I've no reason to doubt that they will go on happening.

Idealistic-Cynical

On the whole the research scientist is firm in the belief that the whole system of success is based on merit and that rewards are indeed commensurate with merit,

except perhaps in the area of salary. Hard work combined with a pleasant personality will produce the desired results. In examining the attitudes of the Research Scientist regarding the promotion system (see Table 13.11), we find that the majority (61%) perceives it as being "fair":

As far as I'm concerned, it's based on my scientific productivity, and I feel this is a sound basis in view of the nature of the work being done here.

TABLE 13.11

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROMOTION SYSTEM OF
THE RESEARCH OFFICERS AND THE TOTAL SUB-
ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Positive	Negative	Other*
Research Officers (N-36)	100%	61.1	16.7	22.2
Total Sub-Elite (N-296)	100%	59.8	17.6	22.6

*Non-committed and not determined.

Even when a violation of the principles of justice is detected by the research scientist, there appears to be a marked lack of rancour or bitterness in most cases. Instead, odd variations on the theme of criticism appear, in a cool and rational approach to any known injustice:

I think that the promotion is fair to the individual, but maybe not to the employer.

In theory the promotion system is good: in practice it is tailored to the men they want. In such a specialized field as this, it is really the only way it can be done.

I'm not 100% satisfied (with the promotion system). It takes so darn long... But the good men get ahead, and the poor don't as well as anywhere else.

Ses défauts sont des défauts humains.

The idealistic view of the Civil Service may be concomitant with and related to the passive attitude of the research scientist regarding Civil Service promotion. The research scientist trusts implicitly that hard work and reputation will be rewarded. He has seen little or nothing which would make him doubt this fact. He has only to apply himself diligently to his work for the Department, and ballooned by his international reputation, he will inevitably rise.

Perception of How to Get Ahead in Research

Having discussed the style with which the research scientist actually approaches his position and work in the Civil Service, it seems logical to look for a moment at the other side of the coin. How does the research scientist perceive the best way of acting in the interests of career or work success? What does he perceive to be rewarded activity? The research scientist will approach his job in a manner related to his personality, experience and training. This has been discussed above. This is not necessarily connected in any way with the manner he perceives as being necessary and desirable. Here the schema offered by Schein and his associates are useful in examining the researcher's conceptions of "success" and how one gets ahead.

Research scientists emphasize above all technical competence and performance; high education, hard work and ability. A Ph. D. is vitally necessary for getting to the top, or close to it. Nearly every respondent in the group emphasized this point. Assuming these educational prerequisites, the research scientist believes that to succeed one must be prepared to work hard and become expert in a delimited area.

Only average or better ability will do, if you combine that with hard work.

In the mind of the research scientist, technical competence is almost taken for granted, and the main emphasis put on gaining recognition. Over and over again, the data shows that the research scientist sees international recognition as the greatest instrument for success. International reputation gives him extended facilities, a more influential position in the organization, and more money. No matter what goal he has set, the research scientist is sure that he can obtain it through the media of international recognition.

It seems worthwhile here to quote in detail the discourse delivered by an RO II of thirty-four who joined the Civil Service two years ago on the completion of his Ph. D.:

If he has decided on a scientific career, he should attempt to do master's work at a University where there is a world authority on the subject. Then go to a University with another world authority on the subject for his Ph.D. Then post-doctoral work in Europe or England under another world authority followed by further post-doctoral work! At the moment, a Ph. D. alone isn't adequate to get to the top of the scientific field.

Then he should take a job where he can get enough money and contacts to do what he wants. Then there should be no obstacles aside from hard work. There should be nothing to stop him. The ideal thing is that he should become the world authority on something. He should write numerous articles on the subject recognized by everyone as being the definite work in his field. He should write a book that is so good that it will be translated into numerous languages... he should give numerous, well-attended lectures... take sabbaticals in order to travel around and make more contacts and as well, have students come to him from all over the world, because he is after all the world authority on the subject.

Notice that through this whole speech not one mention is made of the Civil Service.

Very much on 10/10.

Important Characteristics: A Résumé

A short résumé which will briefly define the model type of research scientist, described in detail above, would be useful at this point.

The research scientist comes from numerous and varied background, but there is a high incidence of farm experience in that background. In addition, he often works for the Department of Agriculture in the summers during his formal education. If he has not worked with the Department of Agriculture, he often gets similar experience in related types of work.

The research scientist is educationally highly specialized, having usually obtained a Ph. D. before or soon after he joins the Department. However, although he spends a great deal of his early life at school, he does not appear to be a very active individual outside his classes and his lab.

The research scientist takes Agriculture because of a basic interest in that field often developed by youthful experience, or directed by a parent or teacher. While pursuing his agricultural studies he often finds that research in agriculture would be a desirable and fulfilling full-time job. If he does not discover this while he is still in school, he finds out soon after that research is too important to him to be interrupted by clamouring students or capitalists interested only in applying his knowledge to make a "fast buck".

When the Research Scientist looks about for a job in the field of agricultural research, he finds himself very limited in his range of choices. In fact, the federal government is almost unique in offering acceptable facilities and prestige. The Civil Service also offers a certain freedom and autonomy to the research scientist which allows him to follow his natural bent. It seems the obvious place to work.

Once in the Civil Service, the involvement of the agricultural researcher in his work is almost total. His prime concern is with his job, and his reference group is his scientific peers outside the Civil Service. But at the same time, his loyalty is with the Civil Service for offering and sustaining research opportunities unique in Canada. Further, while the research scientist is mainly concerned with technical performance, he also displays an interest in administrative functions within the research field.

Stylistically, the research scientist tends to be concerned with upward movement in the Civil Service through the instrument of international reputation. Far from hiding securely in his lab, the research scientist tends to be more outgoing than the stereotype often suggests. He tends to be aggressive and active in the international scientific field, although he passively awaits promotion and recognition in the sense of benefits in the Civil Service. At all times the research scientist emphasizes technical competence as being of prime importance for success, but he appears to rely heavily upon interpersonal means for establishing himself in the scientific community. All in all, he is

generally satisfied with his position in the Civil Service. If he does well scientifically, Civil Service recognition will as surely follow as night the day.

The French Canadian in the Department of Agriculture

The "ideal pattern" for the research scientist has been constructed from a consideration of forty-six interviews, thirty English and sixteen French, with no particular attention given to ethnic difference. On the basis of this defined ideal, it is now possible to discuss ethnic variations on the theme as they exist in the Department of Agriculture.

To start with, it is essential to note that although both French and English research officers are similar in average age (38 years old) and length of government service (8 years), the French receive nearly \$1,000 less on the average, in salary, than the English (see Table 13.12). This begs explanation.

TABLE 13.12

SOME VITAL STATISTICS

ENGLISH RESEARCH SCIENTIST VS. FRENCH RESEARCH SCIENTIST

	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>
<u>SALARY</u>		
Research Officer	\$9,521	\$8,696
Technical Officer	\$6,805	\$6,510
<u>AGE</u>		
Research Officer	38.8 years	37.5 years
Technical Officer	39.0 years	43.3 years
<u>LENGTH OF SERVICE</u>		
Research Officer	8.8 years	8.2 years
Technical Officer	16.6 years	19.3 years

At the outset, it would seem logical that, because of the orientation to an outside reference group, the international scientific community, that the "ideal pattern" would be basically an international one, involving norms which cut across national or linguistic

boundaries. However, within the context of the Department of Agriculture, the "ideal pattern" is basically an English one.

After an examination of the data, and of this ideal, it is not surprising to find that the English group conforms more rigidly to the pattern than the French. It is not surprising in view of the fact that the largest proportion of the functionaries in the Department of Agriculture in Ottawa, and indeed across Canada, are English or English-oriented, and also in view of the fact that English concepts pervade the Department as a whole. An English atmosphere has been established, and it is in this environment that both ethnic groups pursue their careers. Rather than the English conforming to a pattern which is French or even French influenced, the French find themselves in the position of attempting to conform to an "English" norm.

The dominant English ethos is clearly recognized by the French scientists. Three-quarters of the French were required to learn English while at university either by using English texts or by attending American or British Schools to obtain higher degrees. The remaining quarter had picked it up earlier in life. The following statements voice their common experience:

Et je dois parler que le fait d'avoir fait mes études en anglais au Minnesota et à Edinbourg... je pense anglais en matière de science et de recherche. Ma tournure d'esprit est devenue comme la-leur.

Ici, ça présuppose une formation anglaise. J'ai des diplômes et de l'expérience mais je n'ai pas le "Ph. D." qui semble être très prestigieux en Amérique. Le fait de ne pas l'avoir peut m'empêcher de monter ou me nuire considérablement.

Tout le vocabulaire technique est anglais.... les outils de travail sont en anglais et il serait extrêmement difficile de travailler autrement qu'en anglais.

Within the Department of Agriculture deviations from the "ideal pattern" for research scientists often stem exclusively from ethnic or cultural differences. This report will discuss those differences which seem to contribute the greatest insight into the possibilities of ultimate satisfaction and success for the French research scientist.

Before dealing with the career experiences of the French research scientist, we will first examine the work context in which he operates. How does the Department of Agriculture cope with the problem of socializing French Canadian personnel? Does it cope? Does it try to cope?

a) Use of the French Language

There is evidence in the interviews carried out with senior personnel in the Department and in several government documents that a policy was instituted in 1963 which made an effort to increase the bilingual capacity of the Department of Agriculture on an experimental basis:

This policy allows every employee of the Department to express himself in the language of his choice. The experience of the Department of Agriculture is very recent, and conclusions should not be too hastily drawn... Contacts with a few Departmental officers indicate that there is much interest in the experiment, and that many English-speaking public servants are taking upon themselves the task of learning enough French to understand correspondence coming in from regional offices in Quebec. However, as correspondence coming to the Department must receive a reply in the same language, the translation office is now overloaded, and there are therefore considerable delays.¹

When our study group visited the Department of Agriculture two years later in the summer of 1965, the outlook for a functionally bilingual Department was not optimistic and the experiment apparently a qualified

1. Bilingualism in the Federal Public Service (March 1963) - Discussion Paper by the Advisory Committee on Questions of Bilingualism. The Committee is composed of persons from the Treasury Board Staff or the Prime Minister's Office.

failure. It is true that many senior officers were partially bilingual in that they could read French communications. French was being used in Quebec districts to serve the French clientele where it was needed. And a memo was circulated throughout the Department advising that officers were to feel free to send correspondence in any language they wished. But all this does not make for a bilingual Department, especially when we look at the other side of the coin. Senior officers admit that the memo of 1963 has had little effect. English is almost the sole working language of headquarters. One senior official noted that since 1960, there has been a tendency for French Canadians in the Department to use more French in meetings, at meals, etc., but that this was creating some embarrassment for English personnel.

Communications between Quebec districts and headquarters is almost solely in English. Senior personnel in the Department, when questioned concerning this, say that there really is no problem dealing with French personnel in Quebec, since they are "fluently bilingual". They claim that there are pressures on the Department from clients to use English. Most agricultural and related industries are English-speaking. National agricultural organizations are English-speaking, or else they contain French Canadians who are

willing to speak English, (e.g. the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Quebec, the Laval University faculty). And as far as the French scientist is concerned, senior officials feel that there are no communications problems here because these scientists have taken post graduate work outside Quebec and can therefore speak English.

One French researcher who had received both his M.A. and Ph. D. at a large American university put the matter quite bluntly:

Si je veux travailler en français, fournir mes rapports en français, on ne s'occupera pas de moi pour l'avancement.

b) Recruitment and French-Canadian Personnel

The Department of Agriculture appears to have tried to look after biculturalism and bilingualism by staffing the Quebec district with French Canadians,¹ by following a policy of at least one French Canadian in each Division, and by having a French-Canadian "figurehead" for the Department as a whole since 1923-24. The policy of having one French Canadian in each Division, however, has fallen

1. This was preferable in any case, since some Agriculture personnel feel that non-French personnel are persons non grata in Quebec.

short of the goal. While the Associate Deputy Minister is a French Canadian, neither of the Assistant Deputy Ministers nor any of the ten Directors in the Production and Marketing Branch are French Canadians. There are a few French-Canadian economists in the Economics Branch, and a few at the lower levels of headquarters, but the main concentration of French speakers remains in Quebec district offices and research stations.

The part of the problem which was heavily emphasized in the interviews is the apparent unwillingness of the French-Canadian agricultural professionals to move from the Province of Quebec. This situation grew worse when the French-speaking faculty of Agriculture was established at Laval in 1962. The faculty took about "eight to ten" of the Department's best French Canadians, particularly research personnel. However, the loss of "about eight to ten senior personnel" does not fully explain our figures. Out of three hundred and seven Agricultural personnel who fitted our age-salary specifications, only twenty-eight were French Canadians.

The process of recruitment of French Canadians is apparently badly deficient somewhere. The problem may have something to do with the fact that we encountered more open prejudice against French Canadians in the Department of Agriculture than in any other Department studied.

The Career Experience of the French Agricultural Researcher

a) Social Background

It is of prime importance to note here that the French Civil Servants who are classified as Research Officers have educational qualifications as high as, if not higher than A,¹ our "ideal type". Like A, the French research scientist takes his degrees in Agriculture, with some later specialization. (See Table 13.13).

TABLE 13.13

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FRENCH RESEARCH
OFFICERS AND ALL RESEARCH OFFICERS (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	No Degree	Under- graduate degree	Post- graduate degree
French Research Officer (N-12)	100%	0.0	0.0	100.0
Research Officer (N-36)	100%	0.0	16.7	83.3

1. In this section the designation "A" will be used to refer to the typical career pattern previously outlined.

It appears that the formative experience of the French research scientist tends to coincide closely with those of A.

b) Career Past

Here also there are certain factors which coincide closely with A. For example, there is a high incidence of summer employment with the Department of Agriculture, or at least work in a related field. However, it is also in this area that important differences begin to appear.

Occupational choice is, for the French research scientist, not as clearly defined as it is for A. There is no clear commitment to the field of agriculture out of a sense of personal feeling for or interest in a specialized field of agriculture. Rather, it seems that a large proportion of French research scientists fall into the field of agriculture purely by accident:

Le choix s'est développé assez lentement. Je suis tombé par hasard plus qu'à dessein. J'avais la formation et le caractère pour la profession.

J'ai toujours eu le désir de créer, de travailler dans du neuf... J'ai besoin de rétablir des valeurs humaines à une époque où on ne pourrait que crever de faim, en écrivant. En effet, je voulais me destiner à la littérature, mais c'était impossible. Je me suis éloigné du rêve, et de l'évasion pour retomber sur la terre... Aussi, mon père était professeur à la faculté d'agriculture de la Pocatière c'était donc un domaine que je connaissais bien, et c'est là que j'étais. J'étais animé d'un désir de logique et de rationalisation.

It should also be noted here that the previous work history of the French research scientist is almost non-existent. In a very high proportion of cases (85%), the French research scientist enters the Civil Service immediately upon graduation. Some possible explanations of this fact will be discussed in the next section.

c) Civil Service Career

In this area, there are very definite differences between the French research scientist and A.

The first difference is noticeable in the reasons for joining the Civil Service given by the two types. When the French research scientist is asked to describe when and why he chooses an occupation, he not only describes his choice, but at this point in the interview also states why he decided to come into the Civil Service,

either Provincial or Federal. In many cases therefore, occupation is equated with the organization. But it is not equated in the same way that A equates organization and occupation. While A selects the organization after the completion of his formal education, and often after a period of work outside the Civil Service, the French research scientist implies that he often selects the Civil Service before he completes his formal education. He implies that not only does he want to work in a certain occupational area, but that he also wants to work in a certain organizational setting. Fifty per cent of the French respondents indicated that they had decided on the Federal or Provincial Public Service before the completion of formal education. This suggests that the French Research scientist is oriented towards Federal or Provincial Public Service earlier than A, and that it is a more positive orientation.

It is now left to establish the factors which influence this orientation and which lead the French research scientists to direct his attention to the Public Service. It was suggested earlier that A joins the Civil Service because of the work and career opportunities which the Civil Service could offer in the field of agricultural research. On

first impressions the French research scientist differs little from A. He realizes that the public service offers the best job opportunities in his specialized field. But there are often certain other considerations for the French research scientist which have an important bearing on this career decision.

A primary factor is language. The French research scientist may want to work in the field of agricultural research or teaching, but wants to work in French. Thus his choice is automatically narrowed from the whole of North America to the Province of Quebec. But the opportunities in the Province of Quebec for working in his own language are few, and places hard to obtain. The French research scientist, finding the Provincial Government closed, turns to the Federal Government for a position, often with the hope that he will be located in a research station where French is the working language:

Je voulais faire de la recherche. Peu m'importait où je devais aller. Toutefois, à la fin de mes études, j'aurais voulu travailler dans ma langue au Québec. Mais au Québec, il n'y avait que l'université et l'enseignement. Il n'y avait rien non plus ni au gouvernement de Québec, ni dans l'entreprise privée. J'ai donc été obligé d'aller à McGill. J'ai donc été à McGill par moindre mal. Je ne voulais pas aller à Winnipeg. Il ne restait pas de choix. Tout ce que je voulais faire, c'était de la recherche. Ici, une position était ouverte, j'y suis venu. Vous voyez, c'est donc la force des choses qui m'a conduit à la Fonction publique.

The idea that his possibilities were limited on the grounds of language alone, does not totally explain the orientation of the French research scientist toward the Public Service. A second consideration which affects the decision of the French research scientist is the emphasis which he seems to place on factors extraneous to the work situation. Security and marginal benefits are more important for the French research scientist than they are for his English counterpart:

Je demeurais à Ottawa, et comme le gouvernement est le plus gros employeur, c'était normal que je m'oriente vers le "civil service". Je connaissais plusieurs employés civils qui se disaient satisfaits de leur sort. Ils m'ont dit les avantages d'avancement, de salaire, de stabilité. Pas de chômage pour les employés du service civil. Puis je me trouvais à demeurer dans la région.

It should be noted in passing that the French research scientist is not drawn into the Department as often as A by the means of contacts with personnel within the Department or previous summer work with the Department (see Table 13.14). While this feature of the recruitment system is more operative for the French research scientist in the Department of Agriculture than in the Civil Service as a whole, it is still less important for the French than it is for A. The Department apparently does not utilize this important mechanism as often as might be possible in the recruitment of French Canadian personnel.

Thus, as far as career orientation is concerned, we begin to see important differences between the French research scientist and A. We have already seen that the French research scientist is not as primarily concerned with the task factors connected with his job in the Civil Service as his English counterpart. A fairly high proportion of French research scientists tend to be more concerned with the marginal benefits associated with their positions.

Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the French research scientist is less committed to the institution employing him than is A. (See Table 13.15). While A is task oriented and fairly loyal to the Civil Service because it offers good occupational opportunities, the French research scientist tends to value his position for the marginal benefits connected with it, rather than primarily for task factors, and is therefore less committed to the Civil Service.

TABLE 13.14

MECHANISMS FOR ENTERING THE DEPARTMENT OF THE
FRENCH RESEARCH OFFICERS AND ALL RESEARCH SCIENTISTS
(IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Contacts	Analogous Experience	Other
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	38.5	7.7	53.8
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	62.2	7.2	30.6

TABLE 13.15

LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE
(IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Committed	Uncom- mitted	Undecided or Other
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	38.5	46.2	15.3
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	63.0	17.4	19.6

In the career style of the French research scientist, there appear to be few significant deviations from A. The French research scientist has attended about the same number of conferences in the past year as A (see Table 13.16), and his membership in professional organizations is about equal to that of A (see Table 13.17). Further, it appears that he is publishing as prodigiously as A (see Table 13.18). We know that these are important criteria for promotion in the Department of Agriculture, and the French research scientist appears to fulfill these requirements adequately. With his high educational qualifications, he couples a high degree of professional activity. His career style, in these important dimensions, closely approximates A.

Despite these traits, as we have noted previously, there is an apparent lack of French research scientists in the higher positions in the Department of Agriculture, in terms of salary and decision-making power. In part, this situation can be accounted for by the attitudes and aspirations of the French researcher. His conceptions of his career as a scientist, and of "success" in this career, differ markedly from those of A. With A, there is a correspondence or "fit" between career goals and the

TABLE 13.16

NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL OR SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES
ATTENDED IN THE PAST YEAR BY THE FRENCH RESEARCH
OFFICERS AND ALL RESEARCH SCIENTISTS (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One or More
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	38.5	61.5
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	28.0	72.0

TABLE 13.17

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN PROFESSIONAL OR
SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FRENCH RESEARCH
OFFICER AND ALL RESEARCH SCIENTISTS (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One-Two	Three or more
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	0.0	30.7	69.2
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	8.9	29.6	62.6

TABLE 13.18

NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PAST YEAR
BY THE FRENCH RESEARCH OFFICERS AND ALL RESEARCH
SCIENTISTS (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	None	One or More
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	23.1	76.9
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	27.6	72.4

activities he carries out to attain them. However, although the French research scientist engages in activities similar to A, he views them quite differently.

That the career style and the career attitudes of the French research scientist are at variance is illustrated by three important discoveries about the opinions held by the French research scientist regarding the best method of reaching the "top" in research. While A sees outside activities (membership in professional organizations, in clubs, and other societies), as being of prime importance for Civil Service promotion, the French are not nearly as emphatic about this, and a fairly large number (23%) of French research scientists say in fact that this type of activity is not important for getting ahead in the Civil Service. When asked specifically about the importance of such membership, the proportion of French research scientists who felt that this was a basic prerequisite for success in the Civil Service was considerably smaller than for A. There were other relevant variations in the attitudes of the French research scientist and A, regarding the types of activities which are important for getting ahead in the Civil Service. The French research scientist does not stress educational qualifications or technical

competence to the same extent as A, nor does he even specifically mention the "work recognition" so important for A.

What is the importance of these factors in relation to the career success of the French research scientist in the Department of Agriculture? The above findings would seem to indicate that the ideas of the French research scientist about the road to distinction in the Civil Service are not as clearcut as A's. While his activities seem to conform to the pattern of behaviour required for a successful career in the Department of Agriculture, his perceptions of that pattern are not consistent with the Departmental norm. Nor does he maintain, as a careful reading of the interviews shows, a clear idea of what actually comprises "career success". Many French research scientists evince a rather disinterested, wait-and-see attitude regarding their future career progress. Few display any desire to reach higher administrative or research positions.

One RO III stated:

Ce n'est pas une question de niveau. Du moment où je fais de la recherche, de la recherche fondamentale, je suis satisfait.

Another RS I concurred with this attitude:

Je suis satisfait avec le travail que je fais.
Je ne suis pas ambitieux.

And a Technical Officer IV stated in the same vein:

Je m'attends à des augmentations de salaire
plus qu'à des promotions, mais il peut y avoir
des reclassifications et je pourrais peut-être
encore monter.

Part of this seeming disinterest is certainly attributable to the attitude which we noticed earlier with A: many research scientists have little or no desire to quit the lab. But A has also been seen to display a very definite orientation toward higher administrative and research positions. This orientation however, is far less noticeable among French research scientists. The French research scientist seems far more tied to his laboratory and to his technical role skills.

We might sum up this part of our discussion by saying that the French research scientist does not appear to be as conscious of career goals and the means required to attain them as A. His attitudes and his modus operandi seem to lack a clear grasp of the workings of the promotion system and the career goals as they operate in the Department

of Agriculture. The French research scientist may be as interested in establishing a reputation in the international scientific community as A, but he is, as far as his career in the Civil Service is concerned, less decisive.

This might be ascribed to two different factors. On one hand, it seems likely, on the strength of the previous discussion of the problems faced by the French-Canadian employee in the Department of Agriculture, that the French research scientist, perhaps realizing that the upper reaches of this bureaucratic organization are almost certainly closed to him, has foregone any desire to proceed in this direction. But this is only one possibility. On the other hand, it may also be that the French research scientist is not as highly motivated to pursue an effective career in the Civil Service. He may be content with remaining in a position at lower levels where his demands for security are met.

Thus, in attempting to explain the failure of the French research scientist to achieve higher administrative and research positions in the Department of Agriculture, it seems logical to isolate two major causes. The first is the structural blockage which is the creation of the Department itself, and which takes the form of discrimination

against French Canadians in the Department, even though the Department is ostensibly striving for a maximum amount of bilingualism and biculturalism. The second is the failure of the French-Canadian research scientist himself to grasp fully those career opportunities which are open to him in the Department.

d) Career Satisfaction

Is the French-Canadian research scientist generally idealistic about or satisfied with his career possibilities in the Department of Agriculture, or does he tend to be critical and cynical?

We discovered above, that A views his environment as being just, its rewards commensurate with merit, its barriers only the barriers of personal ability. The French Canadian is not so satisfied with his position. A high proportion of French research scientists are cynical or dissatisfied with their career opportunities in the Department of Agriculture (see Table 13.19), although the French research scientists seem as satisfied with the promotion system as their colleagues (see Table 13.20). These tables alone, however, do not illustrate adequately the amount of hostility toward the Department felt by many of the French

TABLE 13.19

EVALUATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT BY THE RESEARCHERS
AND FRENCH SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Idealistic	Cynical	Other
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	46.2	38.5	15.3
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	83.3	3.7	13.0
French Sub-Elite (N-128)	100%	61.7	15.6	22.7

TABLE 13.20

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PROMOTION SYSTEM OF THE
FRENCH RESEARCH OFFICERS AND ALL RESEARCH
SCIENTISTS (IN PER CENT)

	TOTAL	Positive	Negative	Other*
French Research Officer (N-13)	100%	53.8	15.4	30.8
Research Scientist (N-46)	100%	61.1	16.7	22.2

*Non-committed and not determined.

Research Officers working in it. A careful reading of the interview material indicates that there is a large and vocal body of criticism of the Department among French-Canadian research scientists.

The major criticism of the Department, and the one from which all other points of criticism seem to stem, concerns the English ethos which, the French Canadian feels, pervades the Department. It is this ethos which he feels is hardly conducive to the development of a successful career by a French Canadian in the Department:

Nous travaillons pour une compagnie strictement anglaise. Je n'ai, ni par le haut, ni par le bas, de contacts avec les Canadiens français. Ici, c'est un désert au point de vue canadien-français... La façon de penser, d'agir, de réagir, les relations personnelles sont plus compliquées pour moi. Cette idée peut s'étendre, affecter le déroulement d'une carrière sachant que le groupe qui dirige est anglais. On tend à ne pas vouloir s'introduire dans un milieu étranger. Vis-à-vis des Anglais, je n'ai donc de point commun qu'avec la science. Ce qui fait aussi que je ne me mêle jamais d'administration.

Si je reste ici, c'est parce que j'ai fait ce que je veux. Mais je vous assure, que je n'ai aucun sentiment envers le gouvernement fédéral. C'est pas que j'aime ça ici, la Fonction publique. Mais c'est que je veux y faire de la recherche fondamentale.

In a situation like this, there are several crucial problems which arise for the French-Canadian research scientist. One is the problem of language:

En général, il y a la difficulté de communiquer avec les patrons. Si l'anglais avait été ma propre langue j'aurais pu poser des questions, proposer des solutions dans le cours de mon travail. A cause de la difficulté de communiquer en public je n'ai pu le faire.

Quand on ne comprend pas toujours ce qui nous est dit et qu'on n'est pas toujours compris, ça influence votre rendement parce que d'abord vous ne travaillez pas dans une atmosphère détendue. Vous êtes toujours sous tension.

For some the problem reaches far beyond the language issue:

... le fait de travailler dans une langue différente implique le fait de travailler dans une autre culture; il faudra penser selon des schèmes différents de ceux qu'on a dans son esprit. C'est plus qu'une question de langue, c'est une question de coloration de tout le comportement, et cela ajouté au tempéramment latin.

However, the most crucial problem which arises for the French Canadian in a Department which he feels is dominated by an English ethos, is the problem of felt discrimination, either indirect or direct:

Ici on est un Canadien français sur vingt-cinq, ou cinquante; alors si on croit à la probabilité on a des chances de passer sous les autres. Ce n'est pas le fait que je suis Canadien français, mais si je suis un dans cinq cent, la probabilité est mince.

Si on veut réussir? Change ton nom, donne-toi un bon nom anglais, et ça va t'aider beaucoup. Coûte que coûte va à un bon collègue d'Ontario, plutôt que Québec, ou N.B. ... Puis si vous êtes franc-maçon, ou protestant.... Moi, je suis dans les Chevaliers de Colomb, et ça ne m'aide pas du tout. Ils savaient que j'y étais... Savoir flatter les supérieurs; savoir aller à la bonne place où on va trouver les supérieurs; s'il y a deux théâtres, et que les directeurs ont l'habitude d'en fréquenter un, il faut y aller, même si on aimerait mieux aller à l'autre.

Discontent, therefore, is widespread among the French research scientists in the Department of Agriculture, which seems, for the most part, to have failed in any attempt which it might have made to incorporate satisfactorily this vital part of its employee population.

CHAPITRE 14

LA CARRIERE DE TRADUCTEUR: UN CERTAIN REFUGE

"La traduction,¹ c'est le mal nécessaire de la Confédération". Cette définition donnée par un sujet d'interview campe assez bien la situation de la traduction dans la Fonction publique fédérale. Car c'est bien un mal, avec ses difficultés, ses peines, dont les traducteurs sont tour à tour les victimes et les bénéficiaires. Avec aussi ses contradictions: la nécessité de ce mal découle bien souvent "du bilinguisme artificiel (traduction de l'anglais au français) des tenants de la bonne entente à tout prix". A tout prix, même à celui de l'absurde et de l'inutile érigé en système.

Il faudra toujours garder à l'esprit au cours de cette étude le scepticisme dans lequel évoluent les traducteurs, et qui n'est pas sans rapport avec leur mobilité, leur insatisfaction. "Sentir que ce que l'on fait est à peu près inutile". En outre, cette aigreur complique passablement l'étude au niveau de l'interprétation des réponses: elles sont tantôt de façade, tantôt sincères. Comment distinguer?

1. Notons tout de suite que par souci d'abréviation, à chaque fois que l'on parlera de traduction et de traducteur, on entendra aussi interprétation et interprète.

Le but de ce travail est essentiellement d'analyser le déroulement des carrières d'un groupe de fonctionnaires dont la spécialité interdit toute comparaison. Les raisons principales de cette interdiction viennent d'elles-mêmes à l'esprit: homogénéité culturelle et linguistique, milieu de travail français, formation académique bien spéciale.

Il s'agit donc d'une étude indépendante, plus qualitative que quantitative où nous allons dégager les attitudes, les sentiments, les aspirations tels que les interviews nous les ont révélés. Ils forment en dernière analyse les ressorts de la profession. La connaissance de ces ressorts devrait permettre de faire des recommandations propres à assurer un meilleur fonctionnement du Bureau des traductions et le mieux-être des traducteurs eux-mêmes.

Plus de 300 traducteurs font actuellement partie du Bureau des traductions, organisation actuelle de la traduction dans la Fonction publique instituée en 1934 et relevant du Secrétariat d'Etat.¹

Ils sont répartis dans 28 divisions: 21 divisions de ministères, le Centre de terminologie, une Section des

1. Le simple fait que l'on a casé le Bureau des traductions à ce ministère fourre-tout illustre assez l'ambiguïté de la profession aux yeux de l'administration fédérale.

stagiaires, la Division des lois, la Division des débats, la Division des interprètes, la Division des langues étrangères et la Traduction générale. Leur volume de traduction atteint en 1965 était de 102 millions de mots, ce qui représente 300,000 pages à raison de 500 mots par page.¹

Nous ne toucherons pas davantage aux structures de ce Bureau, dont l'étude est faite ailleurs en détail, à moins qu'elles influent à un point tel sur le travail des traducteurs qu'ils se sentent obligés d'en mentionner les effets, bénéfiques ou maléfiques.

L'échantillon interviewé

Avant tout voyons comment s'est fait l'échantillonnage. Il fut soumis aux mêmes critères que ceux déterminant le choix des autres fonctionnaires; limite d'âge de vingt-cinq à quarante-cinq ans; limite inférieure de traitement annuel de \$6,200; ville de travail, Ottawa, à l'exception de sujets qui furent interviewés à Montréal.²

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1. Jacques LaRivière, La Traduction dans la Fonction publique, rapport intérimaire no 26, pp. 58-108.
 2. En effet, le bureau de Montréal n'est qu'une émanation des services d'Ottawa, Division de la traduction générale. Contrairement aux autres établissements régionaux de l'administration fédérale, il ne s'agit pas d'une décentralisation visant à desservir une clientèle locale.

Sur 55 éligibles tombant entre les normes établies, 31 furent choisis, dont trois tombèrent dans l'échantillon anglophone. Ce dernier nombre, bien sûr, ne nous permet pas de comparer sérieusement les carrières des traducteurs selon leur langue maternelle, d'autant plus que deux de ces sujets sont des Néo-Canadiens de fraîche date dont la langue maternelle n'est ni l'anglais ni le français. Aux fins de l'étude, nous avons cru bon de tous les grouper. Au demeurant, les lignes de force des carrières des non-francophones ne devient pas de celles de leurs collègues, dont elles suivent le même cheminement, accusant des motivations toutes aussi circonvolues.

Quant aux moyennes d'âge et de traitement, selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail, laissons parler le tableau qui suit:

TABLEAU 14.1

MOYENNE D'AGE ET DE TRAITEMENT SELON LE GROUPE LINGUISTIQUE ET LA VILLE DE TRAVAIL. POPULATION ET ECHANTILLON.

GROUPE LINGUISTIQUE ET VILLE DE TRAVAIL	TOTAL		Age Moyen		Traitement Moyen	
	Pop.	Ech.	Pop.	Ech.	Pop.	Ech.
Anglophones	9	3	38,7	38,6	\$7885	\$8450
Francophones:						
Ottawa et Montréal.	46	28	37,5	37,9	\$7802	\$7770
Ottawa seulement. .	<u>41</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>37,6</u>	<u>38,2</u>	<u>\$7872</u>	<u>\$7890</u>
Montréal seulement.*	5	5	36,6	36,6	\$7216	\$7216
Total (moins Montréal).	50	26	37,8	38,2	\$7875	\$7955
Total global.	55	31	37,7	38,0	\$7816	\$7836

*. Nous avons isolé les 5 sujets de Montréal afin de ne pas fausser le parallélisme de cette étude avec celle des autres types particuliers de carrières. Nous procéderons ainsi à chaque fois qu'il sera nécessaire.

Il faut noter l'écart très faible entre les moyennes des éligibles et celles des élus par le hasard.

Deux interprètes font partie de l'échantillon. Cinq traductrices furent interviewées, ce qui est beaucoup par

rapport au reste de la Fonction publique, mais leur carrière ne présentera pas de différence marquée d'avec celle de leurs collègues du sexe fort.

Dans une première partie, nous verrons comment on devient traducteur et pourquoi on entre à la Fonction publique fédérale. Dans une deuxième, nous étudierons leur situation dans ce milieu, en passant en revue les moteurs, et les freins de leur carrière. Puis, on touchera à l'aspect bilinguisme et biculturalisme; mais comme ce rapport en est un sur le déroulement des carrières, on ne fera qu'effleurer cette question, en corollaire.

COMMENT DEVIENT-ON TRADUCTEUR?

On verra dans cette première partie comment on devient traducteur au Secrétariat d'Etat. Ainsi pour raconter cette genèse, on étudiera successivement le lieu d'origine des traducteurs, leur milieu social d'origine, leur éducation, leurs antécédents professionnels avant la traduction et enfin, leur formation spécifique.

Lieu d'origine

Le tableau suivant illustre le lieu d'origine des traducteurs interviewés.

TABLEAU 14.2

DISTRIBUTION DES TRADUCTEURS SELON LE LIEU D'ORIGINE, DANS LA VILLE DE TRAVAIL ET LES GROUPES LINGUISTIQUES.

	MONTREAL ET OTTAWA			OTTAWA SEULEMENT		
	Total	Français	Anglais	Total	Français	Anglais
LIEU D'ORIGINE	%	%	N	%	%	N
Québec	42	46	-	31	35	-
Ontario	23	22	1	27	26	1
Maritimes	10	11	-	11	13	-
Prairies	6	7	-	8	9	-
France	13	14	-	15	17	-
Autres pays étrangers	6	-	2	8	-	2
TOTAL	100% (N-31)	100% (N-28)	3	100% (N-26)	100% (N-23)	3

Si on ne considère que les traducteurs d'Ottawa, on remarque que 17% des sujets francophones interviewés sont originaires de France. Ils ne sont arrivés au pays que depuis peu, ce qu'il faudra prendre en considération lorsqu'il s'agira d'étudier leur perception des problèmes du Canada. Ces Néo-Canadiens ne seraient en général attachés par leurs aspirations ni à l'un ni à l'autre des deux groupes ethniques. Les problèmes du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme les touchant d'assez peu, ils font même effort pour s'en détacher.

Près de 35% sont originaires de Montréal et de la province de Québec, ce qui est identique à la représentation de tous les fonctionnaires francophones interviewés en général (37%).

En tout 52% des informateurs francophones viennent de régions où le français est la langue dominante (la province de Québec et la France). Par contre 48% viennent de provinces où les Canadiens français sont en minorité (Ontario, Maritimes, Prairies). Le quart environ est originaire de la région d'Ottawa: fraction un peu faible comparée à l'ensemble de la sous-élite francophone interviewée (43%).

Cette répartition des traducteurs selon le lieu d'origine pourra trouver son importance dans l'interprétation de ces questions¹ où se dévoilent souvent des notes nationalistes, des ressentiments ou le désir de voir se renforcer la Confédération.

Ne pas oublier non plus que les cinq traducteurs interviewés à Montréal, ne supporteraient jamais d'aller travailler à Ottawa. Ils émettent donc des opinions très tranchées en réponse à plusieurs questions.² D'ailleurs, le Bureau de traduction de Montréal, dont la grande partie du travail consiste à traduire des textes venant de la capitale, fut créé expressément à cause de la difficulté, voire de l'impossibilité, à faire venir des traducteurs compétents à Ottawa. Cette difficulté peut s'expliquer par la qualité médiocre du français sinon enseigné du moins parlé en Ontario. Les alentours de la capitale ne pourraient donc servir ici de réservoir comme c'est le cas pour les autres fonctionnaires. Toutefois la nature même de la profession de traducteur n'est peut-être pas attirante: les personnes venant d'Ottawa (ou d'ailleurs) qui pourraient être traducteurs se refuseraient alors à embrasser la profession.

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1. Les questions 57 et 58 portant sur les récents développements du bilinguisme dans le ministère de l'intéressé et dans la Fonction publique, sur ses prévisions pour l'avenir. (Cf. Appendice 2, Volume V).
 2. Questions consacrées à la ville d'Ottawa comme lieu de travail. (Question 60, 61, 62 - voir Appendice 2, Volume V). Il a fallu les modifier quelque peu pour qu'elles s'appliquent à des Montréalais en les posant de façon hypothétique.

Milieu social d'origine

Comme tous les traducteurs canadiens-français (à deux exceptions près) ont fréquenté le collège classique, leur milieu social d'origine correspond assez bien à celui que fournissent d'ordinaire ces institutions. Citons en gros que les traducteurs, pour les deux tiers, sont issus de famille dont le père est collet blanc. (Ceci comprend les fonctionnaires fédéraux, ce qui est le cas de la plupart des originaires de la région outaouaise, pour des raisons évidentes). L'occupation paternelle des autres se situe dans divers domaines: soit des ouvriers spécialisés, des manoeuvres, ou des agriculteurs, soit des hommes de professions libérales.

A première vue, il semble que ceci soit assez représentatif des fonctionnaires en général. Notons cependant le détail suivant: plusieurs sujets diront n'avoir pu poursuivre leurs études universitaires après leur cours classique, pour des raisons financières. Ce qui ne se serait évidemment pas produit s'ils avaient été élevés dans un milieu plus riche. Sans aucun doute, c'est là une explication valide dans certains cas. Néanmoins, et c'est ce que nous apprend l'étude des carrières, c'est souvent un alibi "commode" de la non persévérance scolaire: cela s'avère pertinent dans le cas des traducteurs, la majorité

provenant de familles de collets blancs qui ont quand même pu défrayer le coût d'une éducation privée dans les collèges classiques. Un fait demeure cependant, partiellement expliqué, c'est l'acrimonie des traducteurs lorsqu'ils se comparent à d'anciens confrères de collège maintenant médecins, avocats, ingénieurs, etc.

Education

TABLEAU 14.3

REPARTITION DES TRADUCTEURS SELON LE PLUS HAUT NIVEAU D'EDUCATION ATTEINT. OTTAWA SEULEMENT, MONTREAL ET OTTAWA.

	TOTAL	Ecole publique	BA-*	BA	BA+**	Licence ou maîtrise
Ottawa seulement (N=26)	100%	0	15	8	42	35
Montréal et Ottawa (N=31)	100%	3	16	6	45	30

* BA- signifie que le sujet a laissé ses études dans les dernières années du cours classique.

** BA+ signifie que le sujet, après son baccalauréat, a commencé des études universitaires au niveau de la licence ou de la maîtrise.

On voit que seulement 19% (15% si l'on se cantonne à Ottawa) ne détiennent pas le diplôme du baccalauréat des collèges classiques québécois, ou son équivalent français délivré par les lycées. Cependant 13% étaient sur le point de l'obtenir.

Ainsi, on peut dire que, du moins pour Ottawa, tous les traducteurs ont suivi le cours classique. L'importance de ceci se révélera au moment d'étudier les qualités requises par la profession.

Pour un examen plus détaillé de ce point, étudions séparément le cas des bacheliers et des licenciés.

(a) Bacheliers

La quasi-totalité des bacheliers (deux seules exceptions) possèdent en plus "une demi-licence" ou une "demi-maîtrise". A tout le moins, quelques cours de traduction. Souvent d'ailleurs sont-ils spécialisés au Bureau des traductions dans un domaine qu'ils avaient étudié en vue d'un diplôme supérieur.¹ Leurs spécialisations varient énormément, depuis la théologie jusqu'à la géologie en

1. La politique du Bureau semble se préciser sur ce point. Nous apprenons que l'on cherche à recruter des personnes de profession libérale (avocats et médecins, notamment) pour améliorer la qualité de la traduction dans certains domaines. Cela valorisera certes la profession de traducteur. Nous reparlerons.

passant par la médecine! C'est dans cette catégorie que se situent les carrières entreprises brillamment parfois, mais avortées par suite de la maladie, de difficultés pécuniaires (soutien de famille par exemple), d'échec académique, de perte de vocation. Sous ce chapitre, signalons aussi les cas nombreux de double, voire triple bifurcation: des étudiants suivant six mois de cours de sciences sociales, puis un an de lettres et finalement aboutissant en commerce; tout ça avant de se retrouver quelques années plus tard au Bureau des traductions! Mais disons en gros que ces cours se situent surtout dans le domaine des lettres, des sciences dites sèches. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que la plupart des traducteurs ont suivi, mais après leur entrée dans leur carrière actuelle, quelques cours de traduction, à l'université d'Ottawa le plus souvent.

(b) Licenciés

Neuf sujets (dont six francophones) détiennent des diplômes supérieurs:¹ une licence en philosophie; une licence en histoire; quatre maîtrises (licences) en lettres; un diplôme d'optométrie; trois licences en droit.

Pour conclure, soulignons le phénomène de la "double diversité" en ce qui touche l'éducation. Diversité d'une part chez le traducteur même qui, dans la plupart des cas, a étudié dans des domaines fort divers: se super-

1. Un sujet détient deux diplômes supérieurs, les autres en détiennent un chacun.

posera à cet aspect celui de la mobilité professionnelle. Diversité d'autre part au sein du Bureau, véritable capharnaüm de diplômés de tout poil et de tout acabit.

En conséquence, notons aussi que les traducteurs possèdent une formation générale étendue, chose essentielle à une profession où il faut "tout savoir".¹

Les antécédents professionnels de la traduction

Il faut étudier avec un certain détail les antécédents de nos sujets avant qu'ils ne devinssent traducteurs. On comprendra pourquoi en examinant la complexité de ce qui les a poussés à le devenir.

Choix de la carrière

Ici, nous avons groupé les fonctionnaires de Montréal et d'Ottawa, car nous ne croyons pas pouvoir déceler de disparités entre les deux groupes.

On trouvera ci-après la phraséologie des réponses à la question qui concerne le premier et le deuxième choix de carrière. Quant au type de réponse, voici quel il était.

1. En effet, les deux tiers environ des sujets mentionnent comme qualité nécessaire et première à la traduction: "un savoir encyclopédique".

Le plus souvent, on ne répondait pas directement, comme on pourrait s'y attendre, selon la formulation de la question:¹ "J'ai songé à la traduction parce que etc...". Sans qu'il soit nécessaire de faire préciser l'interviewé, la réponse type était généralement celle-ci: "Assez tôt je songeais à me diriger vers la carrière 'A', mais à cause des circonstances 'B', j'ai dû faire 'C'. J'ai donc entrepris des études dans ce sens. J'ai dû les interrompre et travailler pour les raisons 'D'. C'est finalement par la force des choses que je suis devenu traducteur." Parfois, la réponse sortait plus brève et sautait l'étape 'A': c'est le cas de ceux qui n'indiquent pas de deuxième choix (49% des cas). Illustrons cette sinuosité:

1. Question 2, appendice 2, Volume V.

TABLEAU 14.4

DISTRIBUTION DU PREMIER ET DU DEUXIEME CHOIX
DE CARRIERE SELON LA CARRIERE PROJETEE.

Carrière projetée	1er choix exprimé		2e choix exprimé	
	%	N	%	N
Vie religieuse.	29	(9)	10	(3)
Droit	16	(5)	3	(1)
Enseignement.	13	(4)	13	(4)
Génie, sciences	13	(4)	0	(0)
Vie militaire	10	(3)	0	(0)
Médecine et sciences connexes .	6	(2)	0	(0)
Journalisme	0	(0)	3	(1)
Fonction publique en générale mais pas la traduction.	6	(2)	3	(1)
Commerce.	3	(1)	3	(1)
<u>Traduction.</u>	0	(0)	16	(5)
Sans réponse.	3	(1)	49	(15)
TOTAL, Montréal et Ottawa . . .	100%	(N=31)	100%	(N=31)

Remarquons immédiatement le caractère plutôt arbitraire des catégorisations de ce tableau. En effet, le premier choix exprimé par un sujet peut bien souvent ne correspondre qu'à un souhait puéril qui ne trouvera pas un soupçon de réalisation, comme cet interviewé qui nous dit: "Dans ma jeunesse, j'avais songé au sacerdoce, mais ce n'était pas très sérieux"! Par contre bien plus qu'une simple velléité, ce premier choix a pu trouver sa réalisation partielle (deux années de médecine, par exemple) ou, plus rarement totale (plusieurs années de pratique du droit).

Ceci dit, un premier chiffre saute aux yeux: c'est le zéro en face de "Traduction" dans la première colonne. Aucun interviewé n'a d'abord envisagé la traduction comme carrière. Sous la catégorie "deuxième choix" on trouve le chiffre cinq (vis-à-vis la traduction), chiffre aussi stupéfiant que le zéro précédent, d'autant plus qu'on répond en ces termes: "c'est à ce moment-là, par la force des circonstances que je suis devenu traducteur". Ce chiffre indique le nombre total de fois où l'on a exprimé la traduction comme deuxième choix: dans plusieurs cas (pour la quasi-totalité des quinze "sans réponse"), on devient traducteur à cette étape, mais sans le mentionner: il ne s'agissait donc pas d'un choix au sens propre du terme. Pour plus du tiers (onze sur trente-et-un) la traduction sera à tout le moins un troisième choix.

Nous n'avons pu établir de dominantes indiquant que l'on passe plutôt d'une catégorie de choix à une autre: tout au plus peut-on dire que trois aspirants-religieux sont devenus aspirants-éducateurs.

Il convient de s'arrêter un moment à la phraséologie utilisée par nos traducteurs en réponse à la question. Elle est extrêmement révélatrice de l'état d'esprit défaitiste et fataliste de bien des traducteurs. Dominent ici les formes volitives conditionnelles du passé ou l'équivalent: "j'aurais voulu", "je désirais", "j'avais songé à", "ma première idée était de" etc. Domine ensuite une causale exprimant les impédiments qui entravèrent ces ambitions: "mais à la suite d'un échec", "mais la maladie", "comme j'avais besoin d'argent". Enfin, lorsqu'on mentionne que l'on en est venu à la traduction, c'est toujours (sauf un cas) sur un ton de résignation: "par la force des choses, des circonstances", "le destin", "la providence". On profite alors de l'occasion, comme en s'excusant, pour affirmer le fortuit du début de la carrière: "en passant dans un bureau de poste, j'ai vu un avis où l'on demandait des traducteurs", "par hasard en lisant les journaux...".

En somme, on voit que ce n'est pas de gaieté de coeur que l'on devient traducteur, mais après bien des tergiversations, des échecs, des entreprises tuées dans l'oeuf.

Comment dès lors parler de "choix". Assurément, c'est un choix qui n'en est pas un, et l'on serait davantage porté à parler de planche de salut.

Monographie des emplois (avant la traduction à la Fonction publique ou ailleurs).

On le devine déjà, la monographie de travail d'un traducteur est aussi mouvementée que celle de son éducation ou que le cheminement dont on vient de parler.

La durée moyenne de l'emploi avant l'entrée au Bureau des traductions est de 7,6 ans (cette durée s'échelonnant de zéro à 25 ans). Quatre seulement n'ont occupé aucun emploi à plein temps avant de devenir fonctionnaire fédéral. De ce nombre cependant un seul est entré directement traducteur. Deux autres sont entrés commis; ils ont fait l'un et l'autre un peu de secrétariat, un peu de rédaction, un peu de correction d'épreuve et de fil en aiguille se sont retrouvés traducteurs. Le quatrième est entré agent d'immigration avant de passer, dix ans plus tard, au Bureau des traductions.

En somme, sauf peut-être un cas, personne n'est arrivé traducteur dans la Fonction publique sans avoir antérieurement fait autre chose. Ce qui souligne encore une fois le caractère de pis-aller de la profession, spécialement au gouvernement fédéral.

Les emplois occupés avant l'entrée dans la Fonction publique fédérale varient à l'infini, et ceci non seulement pour l'ensemble des sujets, mais aussi bien souvent pour chaque individu. Si l'on se limite non pas au nombre d'employeurs, mais au nombre de tâches vraiment différentes, on en arrive pour les 26 traducteurs d'Ottawa à un total de 55, ce qui signifie qu'en moyenne, chaque sujet, avant de devenir traducteur (à la Fonction publique ou ailleurs) a occupé plus de deux emplois différents et a connu environ le double d'employeurs. Citons le cas extrême d'un sujet qui fut successivement, interviewer, manoeuvre, chasseur, vendeur d'assurances, "solliciteur pour une paroisse", douanier, professeur et enfin traducteur!

Cependant, il ne faut pas oublier que notre échantillon comprend six Néo-Canadiens, ce qui grossit ces chiffres, car la plupart des immigrants à leur arrivée au pays prennent pour un temps, "en attendant", n'importe quel travail, (manoeuvre par exemple).

Quant à la nature de ces emplois antérieurs, elle ressort en général au secrétariat ou à l'administration (commis, secrétaire, sténographe, gérant, etc.). On trouve aussi d'anciens professeurs (dans six cas), ou des rédacteurs, des reporters (dans trois cas). Le reste se répartit fort diversement: représentant, optométriste, chapelain, etc.

D'autre part, près de deux tiers des sujets (16 sur 26) sont arrivés au Bureau des traductions sans aucune expérience ni étude préalable en ce domaine! Ceci illustre remarquablement le caractère d'improvisation forcée de la profession.

Sous ce chapitre, disons pour résumer que la monographie des emplois d'un traducteur s'inscrit sous le signe de la mobilité, de l'extrême mobilité.

La formation d'un traducteur et le cas des interprètes

(a) Formation empirique

i. Traduction

Par quelle opération surnaturelle devient-on traducteur, du jour au lendemain? Dans bien des cas, en effet, il s'agit d'un revirement, d'une décision aussi brusque qu'imprévue imposée par le hasard, comme par exemple la lecture d'une annonce de journal alléchante.

Souvenons-nous d'abord de la formation académique de nos sujets. Nous avons noté qu'ils ont tous suivi un cours classique (ceux d'Ottawa du moins) et que quatre d'entre eux seulement n'avaient pas encore obtenu leur baccalauréat (mais étaient sur le point de l'obtenir).

Or, s'il est un endroit où l'on fait de la traduction, c'est bien dans un collège classique québécois: que d'années passées à faire des versions et des thèmes grecs, latins ... et anglais. Et pour quelqu'un qui a traduit du Cicéron les discours de nos hommes politiques ne présentent guère de pièges!

Ajoutons à cela une bonne étude des lettres et de la grammaire (française autant qu'anglaise), une connaissance générale comme en donne un cours classique, et le tour est joué.

Il ne s'agit plus dès lors que d'être bien conseillé par un reviseur expérimenté qui vous apprendra quelques formules passe-partout et le jargon de tel ou tel ministère, si vous ne le connaissez pas (ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas; exemple: un licencié en droit traduisant les lois). Au bout de quelques mois vous serez devenu traducteur chevronné. En outre, si presque tous les sujets ont suivi des cours de traduction, ils le firent après être devenus traducteurs, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé plus haut. Ceci n'affecte donc en rien le caractère empirique de leur formation puisque ce n'était nullement une condition de leur carrière.

Enfin, pour illustrer l'importance de cette filière, disons qu'elle fut suivie par tous les traducteurs sauf par une jeune fille du bureau de Montréal, et un de ses collègues outaouais, qui reçurent une formation académique avant leur carrière en traduction.

ii. Interprétation simultanée

Des deux interprètes interviewés, un reçut une formation académique, l'autre une formation empirique. Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit d'un fonctionnaire entré au bas de l'échelle au Bureau des traductions. Il gravit d'ailleurs très vite les échelons puisqu'il ne lui fallut que trois ans pour passer de la "classe 1" à la "classe 4", puis quatre ans encore pour devenir interprète. Très facilement, à ses dires, il avait passé tous les examens lui permettant de monter en grade. C'est de lui-même qu'il a décidé de devenir interprète, en s'entraînant deux ans durant, à ses frais, avec des collègues. La seule facilité qui lui avait fournie son employeur était la permission d'utiliser l'équipement. Et ainsi grâce à ce "don" nécessaire à ce métier bien particulier, il finit par passer avec succès les examens très sévères menant à l'interprétation simultanée.

Cette voie difficile fut suivie par plusieurs de ses collègues. On devine l'effort déployé pour ainsi parvenir à une fonction à peine plus rémunérée¹ et certainement plus astreignante que celle de traducteur de matériaux écrits. On conçoit que la politique du Secrétariat d'Etat en la matière rebute même les plus courageux.

(b) Formation académique

i. Traduction

Deux sujets seulement ont bénéficié d'une telle formation. Voyons ces cas:

- Un immigrant français, après ses études secondaires obtint un "diplôme supérieur d'interprète". Mais il ne toucha à la traduction que onze ans plus tard, après son arrivée au Canada. C'est dire que sa formation académique précéda d'assez loin sa carrière actuelle.
- Brillante exception, une traductrice du bureau de Montréal est diplômée de l'Ecole de traduction de Genève. Son parchemin lui permit de se lancer aussitôt dans le secteur privé comme traductrice où elle resta trois ans avant de devenir fonctionnaire.

1. Entre juillet 1963 et juillet 1965 par exemple les traitements respectifs des interprètes "classe 1" et "classe 2" étaient à peu près identiques à ceux des traducteurs "classe 5" et "classe 6".

On ne peut guère tirer de conclusions de cas aussi isolés mais nous avons certaines raisons de croire que les écoles de traductions forment d'excellents sujets.

On devrait encourager le recrutement de tels diplômés, source d'économie de temps et d'argent pour le Bureau qui n'a pas à les former. Le travail des réviseurs en serait allégé. Mais seule l'université de Montréal dispense au Canada français des cours de traductions; en ce cas comme ailleurs les Québécois ne veulent pas venir à Ottawa. Aussi bien, notre sujet n'accepterait à aucun prix d'y déménager.

ii. Interprétation simultanée

Ici aussi, il s'agit d'une femme. Elle est diplômée de l'université de Montréal en interprétation simultanée. Elle même reconnaît cependant (et son collègue dont nous avons parlé plus haut abonde dans son sens) que ce genre de cours didactique n'a qu'une valeur relative. Un diplôme n'assure pas la compétence. Il faut ici des qualités innées qu'une Ecole ne peut pas faire naître, mais simplement développer. Nous parlerons plus loin de ces qualités nécessaires à la profession.

L'université de Montréal ne dispense d'ailleurs plus de ces cours en interprétation simultanée. Il faut aller à Genève pour ce faire.

Il semble donc qu'ici l'empirisme soit de rigueur, du moins, paradoxalement au début: on ne peut s'assurer pouvoir faire de l'interprétation simultanée avant d'en avoir déjà fait!

L'entrée dans la Fonction publique fédérale

(a) Les motifs

Surgit maintenant la question: pourquoi la Fonction publique fédérale? Notons immédiatement que l'on a déjà répondu partiellement à cette question. En effet, comme près des deux tiers de nos sujets sont arrivés au Bureau sans jamais avoir fait de traduction, les motifs d'entrée se confondent ici avec les motifs du "choix" de la carrière. On ne songeait pas plus à la traduction qu'à la Fonction publique, mais comme on ne savait pas quoi faire, qu'on avait un emploi mal payé,¹ qu'on sentait s'envoler une vocation, on s'accrochait à cette bouée de sauvetage.

1. Comme par exemple l'enseignement.

Quant à ceux qui étaient déjà traducteurs, leurs motifs d'entrée à la Fonction publique sont du même ordre.

La traduction, ailleurs qu'à la Fonction publique est souvent un métier fort aléatoire. Du moins en était-il ainsi jusqu'à il y a peu de temps. Ce travail était fort mal rémunéré, en particulier dans les journaux de provinces,¹ instable, soumis au fonctionnement hasardeux d'agences pas trop sérieuses. Dans les circonstances, la Fonction publique était encore ce qu'il y a de mieux, ou plutôt de moins mal.

La situation a quelque peu changé. Des débouchés intéressants sont nés dans diverses entreprises, notamment dans les importantes compagnies établies au Québec, dans les sociétés de la Couronne.² La Fonction publique n'a donc plus en le domaine le monopole de l'emploi stable.

Toujours est-il qu'on n'est pas sans déceler une certaine angoisse chez quelques-uns qui, dans la quarantaine, instruits et cultivés mais matériellement démunis, accueillent le Bureau de traduction comme un havre de paix, après une carrière mouvementée. La recherche de la stabilité,

1. Dans les journaux, quand on reformait les services, les traducteurs étaient les premiers touchés: les rédacteurs pouvaient bien suffire à la tâche!

2. Principalement le C.N.

liée à un salaire confortable, joue donc ici un rôle capital: les trois-quarts mentionneront au premier chef cet aspect alimentaire de la chose. Un seul invoquera "le désir de servir le pays"; mais il s'y est pris bien tard: à quarante ans seulement! Parmi d'autres motifs d'entrée isolés invoqués, notons l'avancement, le désir de travailler en équipe.

N'oublions pas d'autre part que sans doute aucun fonctionnaire a moins l'impression d'appartenir à la Fonction publique qu'un traducteur, qui y travaille dans sa langue, isolé des ministères et de leurs strictes hiérarchies. Ceci est particulièrement vrai pour les sujets de Montréal, presque surpris de se découvrir fonctionnaires!

En somme, sauf rarissimes exceptions et pour parler par euphémisme, on entre à la Fonction publique fédérale sans enthousiasme. Les motifs en sont purement négatifs.

(b) Le problème des examens d'entrée

Beaucoup d'appelés, peu d'élus. Mais disons tout de suite que le grand nombre de candidats ne signifie pas grand'chose. Lorsque la Commission du service civil lance un concours par la voie des journaux, il peut se présenter plusieurs centaines de candidats. Dans un pays, comme le Québec, où tant de gens sont plus ou moins bilingues, la chose n'étonne guère. Beaucoup s'imaginent que du moment

que l'on parle deux langues, on est mûr pour la traduction. Erreur, parmi ces centaines, le Bureau, malgré ses forts besoins, n'en retiendra qu'une dizaine. On nous a rapporté des cas extrêmes, où de bons chauffeurs de taxi s'étaient présentés à un concours d'interprétation simultanée.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que l'examen en définitive n'est pas une affaire facile. Quelques-uns de nos sujets toutefois ont échoué à leur première et même à leur seconde tentative. Dans un cas extrême, on n'a réussi qu'à la sixième tentative! Mais cette question dépasse notre étude: elle touche beaucoup plus le recrutement.

Une chose demeure: la difficulté de ces examens d'entrée valorise les traducteurs à leurs propres yeux, chose dont ils ont grand besoin après tous les avatars qu'ils ont si souvent connus et face au peu de considération professionnelle dont ils jouissent. A ce seul titre, ces examens doivent demeurer ce qu'ils sont.

LA CARRIERE DU TRADUCTEUR DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE

Le traducteur est un fonctionnaire bien à part en ce qui touche sa formation, ses motivations professionnelles. Il en est de même en ce qui touche son milieu de travail en général: isolement, statut professionnel, ambitions. On comprendra son réel désarroi en mesurant la distance qui sépare sa propre conception de son travail et celle que s'en font les autres fonctionnaires.

Trois types de traducteurs

En gros et assez arbitrairement, on peut distinguer trois types de traducteurs: les traducteurs "mobiles", les traducteurs "confinés" et les traducteurs aux Débats.

(a) Les traducteurs "mobiles"

Dans cette catégorie, nous rangeons les sujets que leurs fonctions obligent à une certaine mobilité, soit sur le plan géographique, soit sur le plan des tâches. C'est le cas, d'une part, des traducteurs changeant assez souvent de lieu de travail. On les affecte d'un ministère à l'autre pour des périodes de temps suffisamment brèves pour qu'ils ne se sentent pas attitrés à ce ministère. C'est aussi le

cas des fonctionnaires travaillant à la Traduction générale, division qui traduit les surplus des différents ministères.¹

Là, il n'est donc pas facile de se spécialiser. Les opinions sont d'ailleurs partagées sur ce point. Certains préfèrent la spécialisation:

"Il faut une bonne formation spécialisée acquise par les cours et l'expérience pour bien saisir le sens de l'autre langue et la bien traduire. (...) Si on a la bougeotte, si on change de ministère on ne se perfectionne pas."

Pour d'autres, il faut conserver une grande mobilité. La spécialisation "représente un grand danger". On ajoute:

"Quand on est trop spécialisé dans un domaine donné, on devient indispensable dans son bureau et on peut être gelé là pendant des années".

C'est ainsi qu'on devient un traducteur "confiné".

(b) Les traducteurs "confinés"

La définition précédente traduit admirablement ce type de traducteur. Mais faut-il ajouter que plusieurs ne s'en plaignent pas? En effet, il semble que cela soit particu-

1. On peut inclure ici les interprètes pour qui la plus grande partie du travail consiste à interpréter simultanément les débats de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat, et des nombreux comités qui y sont attachés. Ils peuvent aussi être affectés à l'interprétation de conférences, n'importe où au Canada ou à l'étranger. Ils sont ainsi amenés à travailler dans des domaines extrêmement divers, selon un horaire imprévisible.

lièrement vrai chez les plus médiocres, on aime souvent cette situation, gage d'un certain confort, d'une routine reposante, sans imprévus.

Quant à ceux qui choisissent délibérément de se spécialiser, dans un souci d'efficacité et d'avancement, ils se rendent compte tôt ou tard du cercle vicieux où ils se sont engagés et tâchent de se faire muter.

(c) Les traducteurs aux Débats.

Il s'agit là d'un cas se rapprochant assez de celui des traducteurs "mobiles". La traduction des débats à la Chambre des députés est en effet un travail varié, mais, étant donné les exigences particulières à cette fonction, y accéder apparaît souvent comme une consécration. Ces traducteurs travaillent à tout moment du jour ou de la nuit, durant plusieurs heures d'affilée, sans même parfois avoir le temps de manger. Sous une très grande tension, ils doivent traduire les délibérations dont une première version imprimée paraît le lendemain du jour où elles ont lieu.

Par contre ils bénéficient des longs congés propres aux "sessionels", c'est-à-dire qu'ils sont en vacance entre chaque session des chambres (du moins en général).

(a) Comment se considère-t-il?

Les traducteurs se considèrent unanimement comme des "professionnels".¹ A cela, ils apportent toutes sortes d'arguments: nature spécialisée du travail, qualités requises, quasi-nécessité de posséder un diplôme universitaire,² exigence de l'examen d'entrée, etc. Un autre point, jamais invoqué, mais latent, c'est celui de la réminiscence des ambitions déçues: on sait que de nombreux sujets avaient envisagé de faire carrière dans une profession libérale, étant même souvent sur le point d'aboutir, lorsqu'ils devinrent traducteurs. Leur traitement, relativement élevé, leur permet en outre d'entrer dans la catégorie professionnelle.

"Définissant les qualités et les aptitudes que requiert leur travail, les deux-tiers environ des traducteurs parleront d'un travail technique pré-établi et assez mécanique; les autres se considèrent davantage comme des artistes, insistant sur l'intuition, l'humanisme lié à de vastes connaissances nécessaires à leur métier. Mais tous se considèrent comme professionnels au départ.

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1. Au sens où la Commission du service civil utilise ce terme par opposition notamment au travail administratif, technique ou d'employés de bureau.
 2. On a vu que l'immense majorité en possède effectivement un.

(b) Comment le considère-t-on?

Quant à l'attitude des autres fonctionnaires envers les traducteurs, elle est, au dire de ces derniers, bien négative. C'est ici que nos sujets déversent tout leur fiel, en nous disant avec quel mépris on les considère. Qu'on en juge par ces quelques extraits d'interviews:

- "Quand on fait notre métier, il faut savoir encaisser bien des niaiseries".
- "A l'Institut professionnel du Service civil, nous sommes considérés comme de drôles de professionnels. On vous traite tout au plus comme sténographe un peu plus qualifié. A l'O.N.U., un traducteur est beaucoup plus considéré qu'ici."
- "Notre travail manque de prestige".
- "On doit faire un rapport quotidien du nombre de mots que l'on a traduits, ça ressemble à de la comptabilité. C'est humiliant à la fin".
- "On vous dit: "vous ne faites pas de travail créateur". C'est idiot, nous, on fait du travail créateur. Nous aidons les Anglais à refaire leur charabias".
- "On vous arrive avec un texte anglais, on le jette sur la table en disant: "type me this in French".

Il ne faudrait pas prendre le sort des traducteurs trop au tragique sur ce point. On décèle chez eux un certain goût à se louer: ils se prennent volontiers pour de grands écrivains méconnus. S'ils se considèrent professionnels, c'est aussi par dépit. On a vu qu'à la question sur les qualités requises pour la profession, on était intarisable, tant sur le nombre que sur la rareté de ces qualités.

Il demeure cependant certain que cette négation aux traducteurs de leur statut professionnel n'est pas de leur part, qu'une simple impression. Nous apprenons¹ en effet que la Direction du bureau de reclassification de la Commission du service civil envisage de faire passer les traducteurs à la catégorie "administration et service à l'étranger". Pour motiver ces changements, la Commission du service civil fait valoir que les traducteurs rendent "des services de régie interne". Afin qu'ils puissent devenir professionnels, ils devraient faire preuve d'un diplôme de traduction et être reconnus par un institut professionnel. On sait que cette première exigence équivaut à un refus pur et simple de leur reconnaître plus longtemps leur statut actuel, puisque presque personne ne possède un tel diplôme!

Tollé général chez le groupe de traducteurs de l'Institut professionnel des fonctionnaires fédéraux. Ceux-ci jugent l'argument futile puisque, notamment, la plus grande partie de la traduction est destinée au public et non pas au fonctionnement interne.

Cet incident dont nous ignorons le dénouement au moment d'écrire ces lignes, illustre suffisamment l'état d'esprit des traducteurs face à leurs collègues.

1. Août 1966.

(c) Pourquoi est-il considéré?

On peut se demander pourquoi un traducteur est ainsi traité, voire méprisé. Il y a fondamentalement de la part de l'employeur et des pourvoyeurs de textes, une incompréhension chronique de ce qu'est la traduction. Ils savent, même si c'est confusément, que l'on ne traduit la plupart du temps que de l'anglais au français.¹ Ils croient que bien souvent "la traduction c'est de la frime", que cela ne sert qu'à satisfaire quelques Québécois: habitués dans les ministères à Ottawa, à travailler avec leurs collègues francophones possédant tous parfaitement l'anglais, ils s'imaginent qu'il en va de même pour tous les Canadiens français.

D'autre part, les exigences de la publication simultanée de certains textes les obligent à des dates de tombée plus sévères.

(d) Quel doit-être son statut?

Ici, nous ne pouvons qu'abonder dans le sens des traducteurs, et pour plusieurs raisons d'ordres théoriques autant que pratiques. Citons-les:

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1. C'est si vrai, que cette tâche rare qui consiste à traduire du français à l'anglais porte le nom en jargon de métier, de "traductions à sens inverse". Celles-ci comptent pour 20% du total, mais il s'agit presque toujours de textes provenant de l'extérieur de la Fonction publique. (M. Jacques LaRivière, La traduction dans la Fonction publique, Rapport intérimaire no. 26).

-Le Bureau international du travail (BIT) reconnaît la traduction et l'occupation comme des professions.

-Le ministère du Travail du Canada a reconnu comme professionnelle une occupation où il est besoin de diplômés universitaires.¹

-La traduction et l'interprétation, dans la Fonction publique fédérale, ne peuvent être considérés comme des tâches administratives, car elles ne visent pas en premier lieu au fonctionnement de la régie interne. Les traducteurs servent d'abord le public.

-La traduction et l'interprétation exigent une spécialisation professionnelle.

-On ne peut pas s'engager au Bureau des traductions sans posséder de qualifications professionnelles.

Cette dernière raison nous importe au plus haut point: l'exclusion des traducteurs de la catégorie professionnelle nuirait à leur moral déjà bas. Le recrutement en souffrirait, surtout le recrutement de traducteurs hautement spécialisés, comme des médecins, des ingénieurs. Ceux-ci ne sont pas prêts à abandonner un statut dont ils sont fiers.

1. Skilled and professional manpower in Canada, 1945-1965, Ottawa, 1965, Imprimeur de la reine, pp. 8 et 9.

Le problème du multiple isolement

L'incompréhension, la négation des qualités que nous venons d'évoquer ne contribuent pas peu à isoler les traducteurs.

A cette forme d'isolement s'en superposent d'autres. Ainsi, les traducteurs sont la plupart dispersés dans des ministères auxquels ils sont attachés.¹ Dans ce cas, ils se connaissent mal, ont peu de contact à la fois avec les employés de ces ministères, pour lesquels ils constituent une espèce d'oiseau rare, et avec leurs collègues d'autres services. Ceci toutefois, ne s'applique pas aux Débats, par exemple, où les conditions de travail imposent une coopération, un esprit d'équipe cohérent.

Ils constituent également un groupe linguistique à part, là où ils sont groupés (à Montréal, aux Débats, à la Traduction générale), ils forment de véritables "unités de travail francophones". Ils n'utilisent l'anglais que pour communiquer avec l'extérieur.² Leurs communications internes sont totalement unilingues françaises. Les chefs de services sont canadiens-français.

1. Vingt-et-une des vingt-huit divisions du Bureau sont des divisions de ministères.

2. Et bien sûr pour lire ce qu'ils ont à traduire et même pour écrire dans le cas des "traducteurs à sens inverse".

Un sujet, expliquant pourquoi hors du travail il n'avait jamais de contact avec des anglophones, disait savoureusement:

"C'est assez de traduire leur baragouinage toute la journée sans baragouiner avec eux après le travail."

Les ambitions

L'ambition des trois-quarts des traducteurs est assez bornée et se cantonne à des mutations ou des promotions à l'intérieur du Bureau. La plupart diront espérer devenir chef ou sous-chef de section. Ceci correspond au grade six ou sept. Deux seulement déclarent: "monter le plus haut possible". Quant à deux autres ils affirment fuir les responsabilités: on ira jusqu'à demander (et obtenir) d'être rétrogradé, préférant un traitement moindre, mais une vie plus paisible. Quelques-uns disent vouloir quitter la Fonction publique pour retourner au secteur privé (par exemple fonder une agence). Tous nos informateurs sauf un cas ne songent pas à changer de métier.¹

1. Le roulement des traducteurs dans la Fonction publique est d'autre part élevé depuis quelques années. Pour la seule année 1965, il atteint 13%; la majorité garde cependant le métier de traducteur.

- Les freins aux ambitions

Nous avons interviewé 26 traducteurs au mois de septembre 1965 et cinq en avril 1966. Entretemps, le système de promotion a considérablement changé. On a notamment supprimé cette pierre d'achoppement continuuel que constituait l'examen de compétence de la "classe 3". En effet pour passer en classe 3, il fallait passer un examen encore plus sévère que l'examen d'entrée et dont la préparation demandait parfois des mois. A notre connaissance de telles exigences n'existaient nulle part ailleurs dans la Fonction publique fédérale. Toujours est-il que les sujets mentionnaient très souvent ce point comme un obstacle au progrès de leur carrière. Mais laissons de côté cet aspect qui n'a plus qu'une valeur historique.

Les autres freins sont la limitation des postes, les effectifs à respecter. Nous doutons de la validité de cette critique: c'est ne voir qu'un aspect bien restreint des choses. En effet, il est vrai que les dimensions du Bureau sont limitées (300 traducteurs en tout) et qu'il s'agit donc d'évoluer dans ce cadre restreint; par contre la traduction avec la nouvelle politique de bilinguisme, connaît et connaîtra un considérable essor. D'ici peu, on assistera à un véritable boom de la traduction.

Mais on conçoit que certains traducteurs en place depuis longtemps se sentent menacés par la venue de jeunes éléments mieux formés, et ayant bénéficié des réformes de l'éducation que connaît le Québec, réformes qui amènent entre autre à un meilleur enseignement du français.

On peut prévoir sans chance d'erreurs qu'à l'avenir, les traducteurs se plaindront, avec raison peut-être, du système d'ancienneté.

Parmi les autres freins, signalons la trop grande spécialisation dont plusieurs souffrent et dont nous avons parlé ci-devant; signalons aussi quelques facteurs purement personnels, déterminants dans plusieurs cas: manque d'ambition avoué, maladie, etc.

Le cas des interprètes

Signalons immédiatement le fait suivant. Il y a treize interprètes (interprétation simultanée) au Bureau des traductions. De ce nombre, sept sont anglophones, six francophones. Les premiers ne travaillent en général que dans un seul sens (français-anglais), les autres dans les deux sens. Or, 10 à 12% du travail se fait du français à l'anglais. Cette inégalité, les interprètes francophones la ressentent cruellement.

"On peut traduire pendant des heures d'affilée. Parfois, ça va même beaucoup plus loin. Par exemple, au Sénat, pendant des heures je me suis trouvé seul traducteur... j'étais obligé de courir d'une cabine à l'autre selon la langue de celui qui parlait. En effet, je traduis à la fois de l'anglais au français et du français à l'anglais."

Cette insatisfaction due à une surcharge de travail minera à la longue leur moral.

Le traducteur et la question du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme

Les traducteurs vivent dans un monde linguistique à part, travaillent dans leur langue et leur groupe de travail est canadien-français: ils ne sont guère à même de nous informer sur la situation générale qui prévaut pour les autres fonctionnaires francophones. En outre, comme nous le disions au tout début de cette étude, le Bureau compte quelques Néo-Canadiens insensibles au problème de la dualité du pays.

TABLEAU 14.5

ATTITUDE GENERALE DES TRADUCTEURS FRANCOPHONES
ET DE LA SOUS-ELITE FRANCOPHONE EVERS LES QUES-
TIONS DU BILINGUISME ET DU BICULTURALISME

	TOTAL	Optimisme	Optimisme/ Pessimisme	Pessimisme	Apathie
Traducteurs francophones (N=23)	100%	42,4	26,9	19,2	11,5
Sous-élite francophone (N=128)	100%	39,1	23,4	28,1	9,4

Néanmoins leur attitude générale envers des questions de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme suit d'assez près celle de la sous-élite francophone en général. A peine remarque-t-on chez les traducteurs une moindre incidence des attitudes pessimistes.

Ce qui ne veut pas dire que lorsqu'il s'exprime, leur pessimisme ne soit pas prononcé. C'est peut-être en effet chez les traducteurs (canadiens-français) que l'on rencontre les commentaires les plus virulents à propos du bilinguisme. Le bilinguisme, ce sont eux qui en font les frais. Quelques-uns d'entre eux savent que la traduction ne vise qu'à donner artificiellement pour les Canadiens français, un visage acceptable d'un pouvoir étranger. Qu'on en juge par ces paroles amères:

"Le bilinguisme, c'est une influence de façade, car c'est une question d'actualité. Mais, ça ne change pas grand chose. C'est un bilinguisme très vivant." va traduire cette note pour faire plaisir aux Canadiens français". Comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure, c'est même souvent un bilinguisme absurde".¹

Fait à noter cependant, en aucun cas, les traducteurs ne relieront leur insatisfaction à de la discrimination ethnique à leur égard. L'homogénéité linguistique et ethnique de leur propre milieu de travail, l'importance officielle accordée à la traduction dans la Fonction publique vont à l'encontre pour ainsi dire d'une éventuelle discrimination ou de blocage d'ordre linguistique. D'ailleurs ils n'entrevoient pas d'un si mauvais oeil les effets des développements éventuels du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme sur leur carrière.

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1. Un tel cas de "bilinguisme absurde" nous fut rapporté. Le sujet, un interprète, a déjà été envoyé au bout du pays au pied levé, à deux heures d'avis, pour faire la traduction simultanée d'une conférence sur les oiseaux migrateurs. Pendant trois jours d'affilée, seul en cabine il a dû traduire de l'anglais au français alors que personne ne comprenait un traître mot de cette langue. Il ajoute "de temps à autre, quelqu'un prenait un écouteur, curieux d'entendre des sons étrangers. (...) Après ça, le gouvernement peut dire qu'il encourage le bilinguisme!"

TABLEAU 14.6

PERCEPTION DES EFFETS DU BILINGUISME ET DU BICULTURALISME SUR LA
CARRIÈRE. TRADUCTEURS FRANCOPHONES ET SOUS-ÉLITE FRANCOPHONE.

	TOTAL	Bons effets assurément	Bons effets possibles	Aucun effet	Mauvais effet	Sans opinion
Traducteurs francophones (N-23)	100%	39,2	8,7	34,8	4,3	13,0
Sous-élite francophone (N-128)	100%	26,8	14,2	47,2	4,7	7,1

L'insistance actuelle sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme ne peut qu'être bénéfique à leur carrière - dans 39% des cas - ou n'y rien changer, n'avoir aucun effet - pour 35% d'entre eux.

Conclusion: Un portrait du traducteur

En somme, pour décrire le traducteur, on peut s'exprimer ainsi: être insatisfait, cultivé mais ne pouvant faire profession de ses connaissances autrement qu'en traduisant; être incompris dont il faut ménager la susceptibilité; enfin être instable pour qui la Fonction publique fédérale est un havre de paix où il trouve enfin une sécurité de carrière, longtemps recherchée.

C'est là du moins l'image du traducteur que nous avons pu dégager à partir d'entrevues menées quelques mois avant l'annonce d'une hausse de traitement substantielle¹ et l'abolition de l'examen jusqu'alors requis pour être promu en classe 3.

Mal payés et soumis à un système de promotion trop rigide, les sujets interviewés pouvaient peut-être alors justifier leur insatisfaction plus facilement. Jusqu'à quel point leur mécontentement professionnel s'est-il atténué depuis ou diminuera-t-il? L'esprit de ces changements récents dans les conditions de travail visera sans doute à leur donner plus de motivations et à les inciter à poursuivre une carrière (de traducteur) dans la Fonction publique. N'oublions pas cependant que même si c'est plus sensible dans le cas des traducteurs, ce sont en fait tous les fonctionnaires qui se sont vus récemment et se verront davantage motivés à demeurer dans la Fonction publique pour y faire carrière.

1. Si l'on compare l'échelle de 1963 à celle en vigueur le 1er juillet 1966, les hausses vont de 10% pour les traducteurs de la classe 1 jusqu'à 45% dans les classes élevées.

Si l'on voulait esquisser le portrait du successeur de l'actuel traducteur, on se trouverait sans doute en face d'une machine électronique. En effet, des machines à traduire seront sans doute largement utilisées à partir de 1975. Pour un temps les traducteurs les plus chevronnés se retrouveront conseillers en programmation. Le métier disparaîtra (sauf pour le travail littéraire, au moins pour le moment); il disparaîtra progressivement en commençant par le travail technique.

CHAPTER 15THE PATENT EXAMINER: ENGINEER IN
SEARCH OF SECURITY

The chapter deals with the Patent Examiners working in the Patent Office Division of the Secretary of State.¹ To set the background for an analysis of the career of the Patent Examiner, the report opens with a description of the sample of persons interviewed by the Career Study, and then examines the bureaucratic structure of the Patent Office.

Interviewed Sample

The total universe meeting the Career Study's criteria in the Secretary of State was 171 subjects; 114 or 66.6% are oriented to English and 57 or 33.3% to French. As pointed out earlier (Chapter 5), the French in State are heavily concentrated in the Translation Bureau. Only 10 of them are in the Patent Office where they make up but 11.5% of the 87 employees inside our age and salary limits.

1. As of October 1, 1966, The Patent Office became a major division of the new Department of the Registrar General.

Samples of 38 English and 33 French respondents were interviewed. The Number of Patent Examiners which fell into the samples was 34; 27 English and seven French.

Several comparisons have been made between those Patent Examiners interviewed and the average for all Patent Examiners in the target universe in order to establish the representativeness of the sample. The correspondence between sample and universe is quite close. In salary terms, for instance, the mean for the population of Patent Examiners is \$8,214 while the mean for the sampled group is \$8,341. A comparison of the two groups by grade level is shown in Table 15.1.

TABLE 15.1

A COMPARISON OF THE SAMPLE AND POPULATION OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH PATENT EXAMINERS BY GRADE (IN PER CENT)

	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH</u>	
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>
PATENT OFFICER GRADE	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
I	-	-	-	-
II	22	29	-	-
III	63	55	57	70
IV	4	4	43	30
V - VII	11	12	-	-
TOTAL	100 (N=27)	100 (N=76)	100 (N=7)	100 (N=10)

It is apparent that the large English sample matches the English population quite closely in terms of having the various grade levels represented in an appropriate proportion.

The Patent Office

(a) Structure

The executive of the Patent and Copyright office is headed by a Commissioner of Patents who is responsible for the administration of the Patent Act, the Industrial Design and Union Label Act, and the Copyright Act. The executive includes an Assistant Patent Commissioner, a Special Assistant to the Commissioner, the Controller of Examinations, and the Assistant Controller of Examinations.

Within the Patent Office there are three main divisions: the mechanical, the electrical, and the chemical. Each of these is headed by a Division Chief; a Patent Examiner VI. The Office examines applications for patents and registers industrial designs and trademark marks to provide protection to inventors, authors, designers, the Government, and the public. The examination and disposal of a patent application entails consideration of novelty and inventive subject matter, a decision as to patentability, and a verification of compliance with procedural requirements.

The Patent Office employs 400 people, of which about 170 are professional people, mainly engineers. Only three of the 34 Patent Examiners in our study had university degrees in science. The rest were engineers. The distribution of the professional employees by grade, salary, and duties is shown in Table 15.2.

TABLE 15.2

DISTRIBUTION OF PATENT EXAMINERS BY SALARY,
OCCUPATION, GRADE AND DUTIES* (IN PER CENT)

Grade	Salary Range	Percentage	Duties
VII	13,800 - 12,300	1.2	1- Special Assistant to Commissioner 1- Controller of Examinations
VI	12,300 - 10,900	1.8	Division Heads
V	10,700 - 9,500	8.4	Section Chiefs
IV	9,600 - 8,520	13.8	Working Level
III	8,640 - 7,560	43.1	Working Level
II	7,320 - 6,180	26.9	Training and Working Level
I	4,680 - 6,060	4.8	Training and Working Level
TOTAL		100% (N=167)	

*Figures obtained from Patent Office, August, 1965.

The Department received approximately 28,000 patent applications in the fiscal year ending on March 31, 1965, and in the same year, 23,500 were issued. As a result of this great number of applications the senior people claim that the Office is more than three years behind in its work. Because Patent Examiners are specialists in different areas of engineering, applications are allotted according to the examiner's specialization and not according to language. There are no exclusive French Sections in the Office. However, one French-speaking Examiner has been assigned to each division to handle French applications, and these men are given credit for this extra work beyond their ordinary examination work. For the most part, however, the language of Patents is English. Of the 23,476 Patents granted in the fiscal year 1964-65, only 2,032 went to Canadians. The bulk of the remainder went to Great Britain and the U.S.A. In all, there were 186 Patents granted in French. This constitutes less than one per cent of all patents granted.¹

1. Since each Patent Examiner in the Office is expected to handle approximately 250 applications a year, it is evident that one or two Examiners could handle all the French applications, with perhaps some assistance from specialists in the particular "art" or specialty of the application.

It is evident then that the documents handled or produced by the Patent Office are almost totally English. Given these work arrangements and the small volume of French language patents which exists at present, senior officials in the Department see little need for the Patent Office to make special efforts to recruit and hold bilingual personnel.

(b) Career Pattern in the Patent Office

The positions in the Patent Office range from Patent Officer I to Patent Officer VII. At recruitment the men generally enter at the I and II levels. From there, they progress to Patent Examiner III which is the usual working level. To qualify as a Patent Examiner III, a man must have had four years experience in patent work. At least two of these four years must be in Patent Law, and one of these two must be spent in the Patent Office. To enter the third level, the person must pass an examination which covers the Rules and Regulations of Patent Law. After attaining the III level, the Examiner must remain there at least four years before moving up a grade. Patent Examiner IV constitutes the highest working level.¹

1. Having the IV level as a working level is a new development which stems from the reorganization of the Patent Office which took place in 1965. The Examiners at this level are specialists in one particular area of Patents, they work almost entirely on their own and since the reorganization have had no supervisory duties.

Supervisory responsibilities are assumed at the Patent Examiner V level; at this point a man becomes a Section Chief with five or six Examiners under him. The next promotion is to the VI level where there are only three positions, one at the head of each division in the Office. The highest rank is Examiner VII. There are two men at this level; one is the Special Assistant to the Commissioner and the other the Controller of Examinations.

Above this grade are the Assistant Commissioner of Patents and the Commissioner of Patents. The former is a classified Civil Service position; the latter is appointed by the Governor in Council. At present, both the incumbents are men who have moved up through the ranks. It seems to be an unwritten law that the position of Commissioner alternates between French and English-speaking incumbents and this pattern has been observed since the 1920's.

Social Life Before Entering the Civil Service

(a) Social Origins

The Patent Office contains a much higher proportion of "new Canadians" whose mother tongue is neither English nor French than other work units in our survey of the Civil Service Sub-Elite. About a fifth of the Patent Examiners were born abroad and more than two thirds of

the English sample were socialized in a European language other than English or French before acquiring their present working language.

The Patent Examiners also come from humbler origins than the rest of the sub-elite (Chapter 6). A third of the English come from a small town or rural environment; 44% are of working class or farm origins.

The Patent Examiners seem to be men who chose their occupation fairly early in life, setting their sights on a professional career. Some (30%) originally had hopes of a medical or law career but, for various reasons, ended up in the physical sciences and/or engineering. They described themselves as "always interested in Maths and Science", or implied that their interest developed naturally and gradually ("I just grew into it"). They were unable to specify any particular influences which shaped their occupational choices, except perhaps the overall contribution of parents and environment.

(b) Education and Previous Work History

The Patent Examiner, without exception, is either a graduate engineer or a university graduate in the physical sciences. In addition, all Patent Officers are now recruited after a stint of non-Civil Service employment, usually in private industry. We found that only 20% of the Examiners in our sample came to the Patent Office right from university, and these are hold-overs from an earlier recruitment policy. This group is atypical in that the average length of service is well over ten years. The remaining 27 respondents all had work experience outside the Civil Service, and we were interested in the implications of this experience for their Civil Service careers.

The typical Patent Examiner is 29 or 30 when he enters and he has five to six years of previous experience behind him, almost always as a professional engineer. He has most often held only one or two jobs,¹ although a handful have had three or more, and the over-all impression is of relative career stability rather than extreme restlessness before the move into the Patent Office.

1. The exact average is calculated at 1.8 previous jobs for both the English and French subgroups.

(c) Joining the Patent Office

In giving their reasons for joining the Patent Office, the English Patent Examiners emphasized the security and other marginal benefits, stressing "benefit" over "task" factors to a greater extent than the rest of the Civil Service sub-elite. About half of them indicated that they had wanted a secure position with few pressures, and felt that the Patent Office offered the best prospects in this regard. Another important factor was simply the availability of the job; it was revealed that when many of these engineers were seeking a new post, the Patent Office offered the only suitable openings. Such a contingency is more prevalent in the work history of the Patent Examiner than it is for other civil servants.

TABLE 15.3

PRIMARY REASON GIVEN FOR JOINING THE CIVIL SERVICE
OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH PATENT EXAMINERS AND THE
ENGLISH SUB-ELITE (IN PER CENT)

	PATENT OFFICERS		ENGLISH SUB-ELITE	
	English	French		
BENEFIT FACTORS				
Ottawa Area	7.4	0.0	8.2	
Security	25.9	42.9	22.2	
Only Job Available	18.5	14.3	9.0	
Total	51.8	57.2	39.4	
TASK FACTORS	40.7	42.9	50.5	
No Reason - Other	7.4	0.0	10.1	
Total	100% (N=27)	100% (N=7)	100% (N=168)	

Only four out of ten of the Patent Examiners joined because they found the work content (task factors) more attractive in the Patent Office than in private industry. An Engineer who has been in the Patent Office for ten years and at level III for the last eight had the following to say:

I was interested in something in which I could develop a full career.

However, the reasons given by another engineer who has been in the Office for two years at the II level represent more accurately the attitudes most commonly expressed by the Patent Examiners:

I felt that in the long run the C.S. would offer more opportunity and I took an initial cut to come here. At my age, it was better than going back into private industry especially since there was a lot of pressure in my old job.

Thus, for many, the Civil Service offers a respite from the fast pace of private industry.

Civil Service Career

(a) Career Mobility

The majority (53%) of the respondents experienced downward mobility by joining the Patent Office. These are men who in their previous work history had moved from working level to supervisory or administrative positions

but who, on joining the Office at the I or II level reverted back to a junior position. There were some respondents (26%) who, in joining, experienced horizontal mobility -- that is they left approximately corresponding jobs in private industry to join the Patent Office at the same level. There were no respondents who experienced upward career mobility by entering the government.

Having once joined the Office, the respondents have experienced little or no mobility of any kind. Although the length of time with the Patent Office ranges from six months to eighteen years throughout the sample, with an average of 7.2 years for the English-speaking group and 9.2 years for the French, there are only seven respondents who have moved above the working level, Patent Examiner III. Three of the seven are French-speaking and they are at the IV level. Two of them have partial or complete post-graduate degrees, the other a Bachelor's degree. All have been in the Patent Office more than ten years. The remaining four are English-speaking Examiners. Three are at the V level, with an average of fourteen years in the Office; the other is a Patent Examiner IV with twelve years in the Office. The remainder of the sample is, as stated, at the III or II level. Assuming that the sample is representative of the population it can be seen that progression above the III level is very slow and difficult.

(b) Career Orientation and Style

The Patent Examiner must be described as a professional -- that is, he has graduated from a professional school located in a university and is working in his area of study. The Patent Examiner also tends to be an "institutionalist". He identifies with the Patent Office and sees it as providing a work setting where he can build a life-time career.

Within his work, the Patent Examiner, like many engineers, is both technically and administratively oriented: technical to the extent that he works daily at applying technical expertise to specific problems; administrative to the extent that he feels interpersonal skills are necessary in his work, and more important, to the extent that he aspires to supervisory positions. Concerning this latter aspect, eighty-five per cent of our respondents expressed a desire to move up past the working level to administrative positions.

The Patent Examiner's career approach, would best be described as one of "movement" since there is an anticipation of and a desire for upward career mobility in the form of promotion and the acquisition of more responsibility within the organization. But the approach used to attain this mobility would have to be described as "passive" as opposed to "active", since, although he may be discontented with

his environment, the typical Patent Examiner does not feel that he can do anything about it. The structure and the promotion policy of the Patent Office is such that he must spend many years at relatively routine tasks. Because the office structure is bottom heavy, promotions to senior levels are scarce, and there seems little the normally ambitious man can do but wait. Such enforced passivity breeds frustration:

There is no way up in the Patent Office, no bridge up to the rest of the department. The Patent Office is the saddest place in the government to build a career.

However, the typical English-speaking Patent Examiner at least, is idealistic rather than cynical. He believes or hopes that if he does a good job and doesn't cause any trouble he will move up the ladder. This idealism is of course unrealistic. He realizes that there is "no room at the top" and that seniority still counts as much or more than merit, but he seems unable to accept the implications of the situation. Almost every Patent Examiner aspires to a supervisory post in the next few years, refusing to face the fact that the number of these positions are limited. The majority plans to stay and make a career in the Patent Office, but it will necessarily be a career lacking in upward mobility.

There were only six respondents who could be placed in the "cynical" category. Three were English-speaking and three were French-speaking. The English "cynics" were those respondents who were dissatisfied about the general departmental set-up, who felt that merit was not rewarded sufficiently, and who believe that interpersonal factors influenced the promotion system.

A section chief, when asked what qualities a young man should have to get ahead, replied

He's got to be compatible with his seniors. If they don't like you, you are going to be out even if you do a good job. It helps if you are personal friends. It certainly does no harm.

In the light of this comment, it is not surprising that the three French-speaking Examiners were "cynical" because they felt there was ethnic discrimination in the promotion process. Also, the totally English environment of the Office was not to their liking.

(c) Perception of How to Get Ahead in the
Patent Office

An attempt was made to find out what qualities these respondents perceived as being helpful in moving ahead in the Patent Office. In answer to the question on the importance of activities or connections outside work the

English respondents generally answered that they did not feel that such activities had any importance at all. The French respondents felt that personnel contacts were very instrumental in getting ahead and yet they were not very active in any such activities nor did they attempt to cultivate personal contacts. As to the advice they would give to a young man who wanted to reach the top of their field, the respondents answered in essence that they weren't really sure of what was needed to get ahead. Those that did give an answer thought that it was best "not to rock the boat", "to keep in line and do your work" -- in other words, to be passive. One respondent felt that "in patent examinations an introvert is needed."

Aside from the passivity in personal behaviour thought to be desirable, about 67% agreed on the importance of technical competence and good performance, and over 40% also mentioned that education was an important aid - the more the better.

(d) Career Satisfaction

To get an indication of the amount of satisfaction or dissatisfaction felt by the Patent Examiners about their prospects for career mobility we decided to look at the degree of commitment to a career in the Civil Service as expressed by the respondents. The majority (70.6%) feel

themselves committed to the Service, and of the remainder only 14.7% are definitely uncommitted or planning to leave, while the rest are undecided. From this it could be assumed that they are generally satisfied with the Patent Office. However, this impression is lessened when one takes into account the dissatisfaction expressed in the interviews:

There is a lot of unrest and dissatisfaction with the job and the work they are doing. It becomes boring and repetitious. If you do a good job, it's very taxing. You have to read and read. The reports you write repeat themselves. The people reach the top of their salary in grade III and stay there for years and years. Promotion to Grade IV is very scarce. When someone finally does get promoted, there is much hard feeling that it was the wrong person. A lot of people think of it as a job that is fine for a few years but not for a long time.

It is perhaps strange that with such attitudes and such adverse conditions, the Patent Examiner generally plans on staying with the office. It would seem that the reasons for the widespread resignation to an admittedly unsatisfactory occupational environment must be sought in the character of the typical Patent Examiner. A few tentative explanations have been suggested, although it must be remembered that these hypotheses cannot be fully tested.

First, the Patent Examiner appears to be a man not driven by ambition. In fact he seems to have deliberately turned away from the "rat race" of private industry and accepted instead a dead-end position as a technician, doing a routine job which would have little appeal for engineering careerists. As one examiner put it:

This type of work appeals only to a certain type of person. About all you can say is that it is an oddball job.

Often the examiner has joined the Patent Office for security reasons. As previously mentioned, a majority joined for marginal benefits, that is, for reasons other than those connected solely with the type of work they wanted to do. In no way can the people within the Patent Office be described as "go-getters". Instead, they seem to be quiet and unaggressive. Many are of working class or farm origin and many are of minority group origin. Often, by obtaining a professional degree, they have come a long way and are not anxious to climb higher. In rising above their class origins, often through self-education, they have reached the limits of their ambition and are content to remain there. Others, perhaps, stay for the same reason which led them to enter the Civil Service in the first place; its reputation for offering greater

opportunity to new Canadians or those of humble origins than does the business world. Supporting this hypothesis, one engineer who has been in the Patent Office for nine years, remaining at the III level for the last seven, said, "not being Canadian born, my advancement opportunities would be better in the Service than in private industry...".

We decided also to look into the question of university prestige, that is, whether the Patent Examiner had been educated in what could be classified as "prestige school". It was found that 63% had received their degrees at small, lesser-known institutions in Canada or abroad. From this it might be inferred that the majority of the Patent Examiners are men who may lack the qualities or contacts derived from participating in a first class engineering or science milieu.¹ It is possibly for this reason that, as we have indicated above, they have opted out of the competitive pressures found in some areas of private industry.

1. This is not meant to imply that they are not competent engineers or scientists. But a man who gravitates toward Patent Examining is often not suited to a more active type of work.

The "cooling out" process, a common phenomena in the engineering profession may also be at work influencing the attitudes of these Patent Examiners towards their jobs. It is possible that engineering has turned out to be not all that they wanted or expected. The job may have become merely a means of insuring a steady and adequate income. In such a case a man would have very little emotional investment in building it into a successful career, but would instead direct his interests and energies elsewhere. For example, it was found that 21 of the Examiners in our sample mentioned active membership in such outside activities as sports and associations (e.g. the Toastmasters or the Legion). Some had farms, cottages, or an active outdoors life. Very few made no mention of some form of outside interest. One man felt that an examiner "should have an interest outside the office; a community conscience". In this way, the job, and any dissatisfaction which may be associated with it, becomes secondary to other interests and can therefore be accepted.

Problems of the Patent Office

(a) Recruitment

The recruitment of Patent Examiners is a pressing and constant problem of the Office. Last year 28 new Patent Examiners were hired but in the same year 23 were lost to industry and private patent agents. The recruitment for all branches of the Department is done by the C.S.C. However, the Personnel Office of Secretary of State recommends procedures to the Commission, drafts advertisements, and sends its staff on recruiting trips.

The Patent Office has a number of difficulties in enlisting enough competent engineers. First, complications arise because of the variety of specialists required. Within the three main divisions, there are 300 Patent classes and approximately 22,000 subclasses requiring many special types of knowledge. In addition, the Office cannot compete with the salaries and benefits offered by industry, nor with those offered to the most talented of its personnel by private patent agent firms. The raiding done by this latter group is particularly unsettling:

23 resigned last year and I would estimate that more than half went to become Patent Agents.

There is the feeling that because they (the Patent Office) need so many people, they will hire almost anyone they can get. They just keep hiring and hiring and hope they can keep some of them in. They realize that it is a dead end job and they expect them to go. But they seem to feel that if you go out as an agent, they haven't really lost you to the profession. It will be a first rate training ground for my next job.

This last quote is from an Examiner who had definite plans to leave the Patent Office and join an Agent.

A third deterrent, and perhaps the most crucial one, is the fact that the type of work done by Patent Examiners is often routine and uncreative. It smacks of the production line and job quotas. "An engineer who wants to create and build would not be happy here," was a comment offered by a Patent Examiner III with six years experience.

The recruitment of French-speaking personnel poses special problems. The chief difficulty is one which is found everywhere in the Civil Service: French Canadians are reluctant to come to Ottawa because of a disdain for the "English" atmosphere of the capital and a fear of losing their language and culture.¹

1. Besides this the Quebec Association of Engineers has managed to raise salary levels in the province. The result -- now Quebec engineering salary levels are higher than anywhere else in Canada.

Another part of the problem of recruitment can be explained by the new policy mentioned above, which the Office initiated about two years ago. This policy as it now stands is against the practice of hiring examiners right out of university. The reason for this is the feeling that without experience in industry an Examiner is more likely to have problems understanding the inventor's point of view. Also, it was found that men fresh out of university were more likely to leave. In addition perhaps, personnel officials realize that a taste of job insecurity in the "outside world" might incline a new recruit to stay with the Patent Office.

(b) Turnover

In spite of a rather clear-cut career pattern, there was a 17% turnover in Patent Office personnel in 1964-65.¹ The reasons for this rate are similar to those causing difficulties in recruitment. The following is a response given by a relatively successful Patent Office careerist, a Patent Examiner V with twelve years experience who holds a supervisory position, when asked to explain the high turnover rate in the Patent Office. His opinions are reflective of the thinking at all levels in the divisions:

1. Annual Report of the Secretary of State, 1964-65, p. 7.

The first reason is salary. The Civil Service is always behind industry and private patent agents. This becomes an irritation factor. Secondly, there is not enough advancement above the 3 level -- there are only so many positions, their number is small. Once they are filled there is no advancement until someone dies or leaves or another reorganization comes along. Third, those that leave figure there isn't enough challenge or prestige as a Patent Examiner in the Civil Service. The outside looks on a Civil Servant as a glorified clerk. These men are professionals; they don't like this picture that people have of them. We lose the majority of our people to agents or attorneys. There they get more money and prestige. The pay is better on the outside and there is more opportunity to express themselves. There is a greater challenge and freedom of expression to work on your own outside. They aren't bound by the dictates of a Government Department.

(c) Policy and Promotion

As stated earlier, Patent Office Policy dictates that regardless of a man's prior experience or educational qualifications, he must begin as a Patent Examiner I or II. From here, advancement to the III level is rapid. There is no limit to the number of positions open at the III level and promotions to it are automatic after two or three years experience. But it is at the III level that the bottleneck develops. The Examiners can usually expect to be denied further advancement for a long period of time. Ability and drive does count, but more significant for promotion policy is the meagre number of openings available at the IV level,

not to mention levels V to VII. By looking at the distribution of grades it is evident that 75% of the positions available are at Grade III or lower. Since there are four more grades above this, it is evident that the availability of openings grows smaller the more one advances. Thus, the upward rise of even the most bright and aggressive individuals is necessarily slow. When asked if he felt that his career progression was being barred, one frustrated individual replied:

Yes, it's a result of the structure of the office. Competition gets fiercer as you get to the top. You have to wait for a person to retire, resign, or die.

Recognition of this situation came out quite clearly in many other interviews. A Patent Examiner II with two years in the Office complained that:

The structure of the departments is the greatest barrier. There are no openings at the upper levels.

And an Examiner III with seven years in the office, the last five at the III level, concurs in this dissatisfaction:

There are a limited number of positions at the higher levels as well as an ineffective rating and promotion system.

A further explanation for the lack of mobility is the Office policy of keeping a man at a particular level for a given number of years before he can be promoted. Another, more widely accepted reason for slow movement upwards is the role seniority plays in promotion. Over half of the respondents made reference to this factor in one form or another. The following response was given by a Patent Examiner III who has since left the Patent Office:

Seniority considerations play too big a part. A genius couldn't get a job ahead of a guy with seniority. The relative effect of seniority and merit depends on the Supervisor.

Another rather disillusioned Patent Examiner III had this to say:

Many times they promote the wrong man -- the guy sitting on his ass with seniority. The capable young guys leave.

Another respondent with an M.A. in Physics who has been in the Office for five years and who is awaiting the verification of a promotion to the IV level which has been challenged, gives a slightly different view:

...seniority does not have as much an effect as it used to. Promotion is now based more on ability and understanding of your art. Seniority is still a bone of contention in many of the promotions. The men who have been here for some time are appealing promotions which passed them by.

This last quote gives evidence that a new promotion policy, introduced within the last two years may perhaps be alleviating some of the old grievances. Promotions are now officially based on merit and an Appraisal Board has been set up to determine the merits of any particular candidate. Since this is a new system however, it will for a time be viewed critically by those entrenched in the Office. For instance, one examiner in the process of appealing a promotion system decision felt that the new promotion system "seems to have growing pains", and many other Examiners merely find in the new system a different cause for dissatisfaction that was inherent in the old one. In the sample of the Patent Office, fourteen examiners voiced no criticism of the new promotion policy and seven expressed no opinion. Thirteen, however, were negative in their reaction, feeling that the system was adversely affected by ethnicity, the structure of the department, the problems presented by an appraisal system, and the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission. The following comments are typical of the hostility felt by some toward the new system.

The men who make the promotions are no more qualified than I to judge the personal merits of candidates.

I could see many reasons why some people didn't get promoted, but often I couldn't see why others did get promoted. Promotions are made on the supervisor's report and the Appraisal Board has to accept what two supervisors say. It's a somewhat fairer system than blatant favoritism but I think it is only one step above this. Certainly if a supervisor doesn't like a man, he can stop him from ever receiving a promotion.

On the positive side, a Patent Examiner V felt that the new system was much fairer. "Now merit is clearly emphasized over seniority."

Another aspect of the promotion system which received much comment was the policy of moving the most competent examiners into administration.

After a person has been in the Patent Office for a number of years he becomes an administrator. This is the height of idiocy -- and loses his engineering skills. I will always regard myself as an engineer. Professional people do not need supervisors.

This remark was made by a Patent Examiner IV, a level which was recently made the last working level to take care of exactly that complaint. However, this did not go far enough and the suggestion contained in the new quote is being looked into.

I feel in the Patent Office they should have two avenues of advancement. One to the administrative level and one to the technical level. At present, to keep their best men, they advance them up the scale; by doing so, they move them out of technical work into administrative work. This to me, is not a good policy. I feel there should be a plan where a good man can go up the scale to an equal level to the administrator but remain in the technical field. This may come about here in order to retain their men.

(d) The Quota System

Another factor which presents a great many problems to the Examiners is the quota system. This system, as described by a Patent Examiner III, appears quite tenable - at least in theory:

The Commissioner of Patents at the beginning of the year decides how many patents they want to do for that coming year. He then divides these up among his three main divisions according to which art they belong to. The Division Chiefs then divide these up among their different sections. The Section Chiefs allot these to their Patent Examiners based on the ability of the men. The number given to each man is pessimistic or underrated as to the amount it is hoped he can do in a year. This takes care of any difficult applications they may have which take longer than expected. Or the Chief may rearrange the amount a man was expected to do. The quota system is flexible. You can get your quota revised. The administration is open to suggestion if you feel that you can't handle all the applications expected of you. The quota given is dependent on the art and on the man's abilities. There is appropriate supervision and a close checking of reports and the Patent Examiner's work to see if he is meeting his quota.

However, it seems that this theory does not work as smoothly as might be expected, and the problems and pressures inherent in such a quota system are a source of great stress within the Office:

Anybody can meet the quota, but then the quality suffers tremendously. One of the big gripes in this office is because of this. They can't do a proper job because they are so pushed. The inventor pays to have a good job done and then doesn't get it.

They have to read about 15 cases a week and they can't do a good job, they have to be skimpy. In Canada the quota is 275 and no excuses taken. In England the quota is 100 and in the U.S. it is around 80. So just compare the speed to other examiners.

It is on the basis of how many patent you grant that you are promoted -- not on how many you examine.

It is important to be able to cope with the mental strain of meeting the quota. You don't get recognition for doing good work, only if you keep up the volume. Their only concern is trying to cut down the backlog. If you meet the quota -- OK -- if you don't, you have to explain. It's hard on men. It forces some to leave and gives others breakdowns. The quality of the work is affected. It's absurd for a professional you only get credit for the applications that make patents. Those that you worked hard on and that didn't make it don't count. Quantity is only supposed to be 1/15 of the decision in promotion. Actually, it's much more.

One man, a Patent Examiner III with an extreme sense of futility, felt so deeply about the quota system that he set out to investigate the relation of the Patent Office to the Canadian economy:

What resulted was that I got the impression that it was a machine turning out documents that weren't really helping Canada at all.

He goes on to say:

I couldn't accept the situation here until I understood it fully. After understanding it, it was necessary to assess my position in it. That is why I don't feel I can stay, because the policy of the department is at loggerheads with my professional ethic. This quantity over quality aspect of the Patent Office is something that I can't accept

because of the great effect that these Patents have on the economy. I feel that the policy should be one of quality being the all important thing. The other day a memo came around that was unsigned and not dated. It said that the policy of the Office was one of a liberal granting of Patents. This I feel will lead to lower quality of work. I feel they don't see what they are doing... The Patents that come through this Office are mainly from foreign inventors and companies (about 95%). By decreasing quality and thereby increasing quantity they are in fact increasing foreign investment in this country. They are increasing foreign monopolies in Canadian companies. If for no other reason, this is what is wrong with lowering quality in granting Patents.

(e) Morale within the Patent Office

The many complaints voiced about the promotion and quota systems naturally affect the morale of the Patent Office. It was not a contented employee who said that the Patent Office was "the saddest place in the government to work". The turmoil and unrest which results from pressure, difficult working conditions, and general dissatisfaction with the job, seems to pervade the office. Few are entirely happy; many are blatantly discontent. The men seem to be profoundly concerned with their ineffectualness as engineers and professional men in such a restricted milieu. The culmination of many frustrations often forces them out of the Patent Office and into private business where they feel that their status is improved and they can find more satisfying expression for their professional ability.

This discontent often manifests itself in the strange forms of behavior that some respondents claim are a by-product of patent work. One man was asked about the pressure of working under a quota system:

. It could be pressure... it's a very lonely type of work. You do the same stuff over and over, particularly if you have been here for a long time. Nobody bothers you, you don't have to see a soul for several days. It might possibly be the strain of trying to understand the reports. But it's probably latent in many people before they come into the office. And it's the type of work that brings it out. There are some incredible stories of what has happened to people in the Patent Office. Some take drugs. Very strange forms of mental illness come out. It is a very high percentage considering and it's all very disrupting to the office.

Since we have no way of comparing the Patent Office with private industry, we have no way of judging whether or not the level of morale is significantly lower and thus more disruptive. However, it is obvious that the typical Patent Examiner is a man disillusioned with many aspects of his job.

French Usage and French Canadians in the Patent Office

In the Patent Office the common language of work is English. Because Patents are examined, verified, and granted in the language in which they are received, and since 99% are received in English, there is little or no

French used in the Office for work. This in all likelihood puts the French-speaking Examiners at a disadvantage. It is interesting to note that all respondents in the French sample were dissatisfied and three of seven justified their dissatisfaction largely on language grounds.

From the French-speaking respondents also come some very strong remarks to make, regarding the whole promotional and structural aspects of the Patent Office. The first quote is from a respondent with a Bachelor's degree in physics. He is now a Patent Examiner IV and has been at that level for six of his twelve years in the Office:

Les Canadiens français font le travail des autres en français. Les Canadiens français avaient un travail supplémentaire en dehors de sa propre spécialité. Du surplus, pas de reconnaissance, pas payé.... .

The next quote is from a Patent Examiner III who has been in the Office five years and at the III level for six months:

On n'a pas fait d'effort pour retenir les Canadiens français. Les possibilités d'avancement, c'est assez pessimiste. Il y a seulement des Canadiens anglais sur le "board" qui décident sur les décisions --- les Canadiens français ont quitté ---.

And finally, a Patent Examiner IV with a degree in Applied Science (Chemistry) who has been in the Office for ten years and has just been promoted to the IV level, adds his pessimistic view of the French Canadians' chance for advancement:

Quand un Canadien anglais doit choisir entre un Canadien anglais qui pense comme lui, qui a été formé, comme lui, dans les mêmes écoles, les mêmes universités, et un Canadien français qui lui est totalement différent il choisit l'Anglais.

Whether or not the ideas expressed in these quotes, are true is not the real issue. The point is that the French-speaking Examiners believe they are, and leave because of them. Since the sample of French-speaking Examiners is small it could be said that their ideas are not representative. On the other hand, perhaps the sample is small because their ideas are representative.

The predominant impression given by the English Examiners on the subject of French Canada was one of apathy. The following table illustrates this point:

TABLE 15.4

GENERAL ATTITUDE TO FRENCH CANADIANS
OF THE ENGLISH PATENT EXAMINERS

	English Patent Examiners
	<u>%</u>
Sympathetic	7.4
Sympathetic with reservations	14.8
Mixed feelings	7.4
Slightly hostile	11.1
Hostile	11.1
Apathetic	48.1
TOTAL	100% (N=27)

There is a significantly smaller percentage of apathetic English Canadians in the entire Civil Service study sample (30%) than is found in the Patent Office.

The fact that these men work in an almost entirely English milieu explains their attitude in part, and the fact that they have professional degrees, which provide them with a large measure of protection against job displacement, allows them to be complacent about their inability to relate effectively with the French. In fact, 63% were totally unconcerned about the effect that the recent stress on B. & B. would have on their future career plans.

As has been pointed out, the language of patents and science is English, and time and again this fact was underlined by our respondents who also stressed the fact that French was almost useless both in the granting of patents and in the work situation. The English Patent Examiners also tend to move in cliques which would naturally exclude French Canadians, and vice versa. Thus contact between the two groups in the Patent Office is very limited, and the lack of contact naturally reinforces the misunderstanding inherent in the relationship between two different cultural groups.

It is perhaps significant that the French-English situation is rarely related to anything outside the Patent Office. National problems were scarcely mentioned at all. When an opinion was expressed, it was expressed in terms of the Patent Office, and the main complaint was that it was not fair to promote French Canadians just because they were French Canadians.

In summary then, we have a work setting that is overwhelmingly English in staff composition, in general work atmosphere, and in clientele. The French who enter the Office must work in English because of the scarcity of French documents to be handled; the English are generally apathetic to the recent emphasis on bilinguism in the Civil Service. An impasse has been reached between the two groups.

